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M. & N. HANHART LITH

THE ISLAND OF MOOREA

ROVINGS

IN

THE PACIFIC,

FROM 1837 TO 1849:

WITH

85050

A GLANCE AT CALIFORNIA.

BY A MERCHANT

LONG RESIDENT AT TAHITI.

X 146

WITH FOUR ILLUSTRATIONS PRINTED IN COLOURS.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL II.

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1851.

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DRAWN BY E.L. M. & N. HANHART LITH.

THE VALLEY OF OPONOHU.

LONDON, LONGMAN & Co. 1851

ROVINGS

IN

THE PACIFIC.

CHAPTER I.

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"See how the tranquil seas
Reflect the heavens blue,
Whilst, passing on, the breeze,
Scarce stirs their tranquil hue;
But never trust the deep,
For changeful is the sea,
One moment lull'd to sleep,
Next, lash'd to storms 't will be."
French Song (freely translated).

I WAS too much occupied with business matters to find time for pleasure excursions this trip to Valparaiso, and on *October 18th*, being again ready for sea, we made a start; but just as we had got clear of the shipping, and I had "gone below," to change my dress, a flaw of wind from the abrupt headlands caught the mainsail aback, when they were in the act of jibbing, which carried away the mainboom: this compelled us to bring to, and we were obliged to order a new boom, which I did on the instant; and by the afternoon of *October 20th*, order being restored, we got underweigh with a strong southerly breeze, and stood on our course for Tahiti.

On getting into the latitude of 24° 30 S., which we did *October 25th*, we met with our old enemy, the inflexible east wind, now converted into our best friend, which carried us nearly due west to within six or seven degrees of longitude from Pitcairn's island. Baffling winds and heavy rains then thwarted us for three days, so that we had no opportunity of procuring observations during that period; but by

the course steered, we conjectured we were well to the southward, and considerably to the eastward, of two small islands, laid down on the chart as being east-north-east from Pitcairn's Island.

November 15th. — In the middle night watch, between three and four A.M., on the captain's sending a man up to furl the royal, he shouted out "Land ahead!" The ship was instantly put about, and only in time to save us from running on to a dangerously low coral island. The weather was dark and hazy, we could see no distance from the deck, and the first land we contemplated seeing was Pitcairn's Island, which is high and bold. A curious circumstance is connected with our escape from this low island. About an hour previous to the royal's being *furled,* the captain ordered it to be *clued* up, and sent a man aloft to *furl* it; but changing his mind, called him down again, as he was ascending the topmast rigging: if this had not been the case, from the security in which we were reposing, in all probability we should have been lost, as the island was barely perceptible at the time it was observed, and an hour earlier it would have been utterly undistinguishable. At daylight we had a proper view of it, and congratulated ourselves on our fortunate escape. It presented the appearance of a low level ridge of dead coral, covered with a dense dwarf scrub, differing little in colour from that of the ocean. We conjectured it to be Elizabeth Island; and as the wind would not allow us to lay much better than west for the next few hours, we ought to have seen Henderson's Island, laid down in the same parallel of lati-

tude; but not having done so, we assumed them to be one and the same island, seen by different navigators, and the position given according to the respective times shown by their chronometers; and our surmise subsequently proved correct.

Just before sundown, Pitcairn's Island was seen in the distance, and at dawn on *November 16th*, we were abreast of the settlement formed by the descendants of the mutineers of the Bounty. Three canoes put off to us, bearing six of the islanders; the canoes were each dubbed out of a single piece of wood, and were so small and fragile, that I could not but admire the temerity of those who would venture to sea in them. To show how light and small they were, on a rope being made fast to them, "one hand" easily hoisted them inboard; they were more like children's toys than things for men to venture life in. The island shoots perpendicularly from the water, and rises to the height of 1000 feet, or rather more on the loftiest ridges. The weather being favourable, I had a boat lowered and went ashore, at the landing place opposite the village on the north side of the island. We had no difficulty in landing, but in boisterous weather it would be impracticable. On the north-west side there is anchorage on a sandy bottom; and as the wind throughout the year prevails nearly always from the eastward, a vessel might let go her anchor in safety, as the residents tell us the wind is never known to shift so suddenly as not to give timely warning for recovering the anchor, and placing the ship out of danger.

One of the highest points on the island is called "Look-out Ridge," and its altitude was ascertained by Captain Beechy, of H. M. S. Blossom, to be 1000 feet above the level of the sea. It derived the name from its being used as a "look-out" station by the mutineers, and where they erected a hut for the party on watch, who was to give instant notice of the appearance of any sail. Such was their dread of being detected. In the early stage of their residence two vessels touched at the island, and after having landed a boat's crew upon it, passed on their way without entertaining a suspicion that it was inhabited. A sailor's jack-knife was subsequently picked up at the foot of a cocoa-nut tree — a speaking memento of the just grounds the fugitives had for alarm. From this ridge, which I ascended, we had an entire bird's-eye view of the island; and the circumference of its area, on the summit, was considered to be about four miles. Every available patch is under cultivation; the soil is rich and fertile, and seen from our elevated position, it bore the appearance of one large garden. Five only of the mutineers have transmitted their names to their posterity, viz. Christian, Young, Quintall, M'Coy, and Adams. There are at present 116 of their descendants, and nearly an equal number of each sex, including the offspring of three Englishmen, who have been residing on the island from sixteen to twenty years, and who formed matrimonial connections there. The Tahitian dialect is nearly, if not entirely forgotten, there being but one or two who pretend to know any thing about it. The present generation speak

much better English than the common run of ordinarily educated people in England. Their phraseology is peculiarly scriptural, probably from the Bible being the principal work from which they were instructed in the written language; their pronunciation is more deliberate than ours, and there is something peculiar in the intonation of their voices. They are several shades lighter in colour than the Tahitians, and bear generally a closer resemblance to their male progenitors. Some of the young women are of exceedingly interesting appearance, finely and firmly formed; and with their short upper tunics and bare arms, and from the mode in which they dress their hair, they strongly reminded me of the classic figures of the ancients. Both sexes go with bare legs and feet, and they equally participate in the labour of cultivating the earth.

I entertained the idea that all on the island looked upon one another as the children of one family, and shared property in common. This used to be the case formerly, I was told; but since the visits of ships have become more frequent, and the population has increased so largely, every one labours for himself to secure the necessaries which his own immediate family may require. To prevent disputes, the arable part of the island was divided into sections, and equitably allotted upon agrarian principles. Now each family is guided, in its cultivation, by its wants; and according to their industry, so are they enabled to supply themselves with articles of European manufacture, by bartering surplus produce to whale ships and others touching at the island.

for refreshments. Yams and sweet potatoes are the principle articles they have for barter, which they dispose of at the rate of two dollars per barrel, receiving payment either in cash or goods. They can all read and write; and a Mr. Nobbs, one of the beforementioned Englishmen, who settled amongst them many years ago, officiates as missionary teacher and schoolmaster; and as such, is exempt from the labour of the field. He married a descendant of Christian's, and represents himself as having formerly served as a lieutenant under Lord Cochrane, who did the Chilian state some service. He has seven or eight children; and I found him intelligent and communicative, and from him I derived most of the particulars I learnt respecting the island. He took me to visit Adams's grave, who died fifteen or sixteen years ago; the last survivor of the mutineers, and the only one of them besides Young who died a natural death. The latter died from an asthmatical complaint some years previously; the rest either fell by their own hands, or in mutual conflict, or were treacherously murdered. The present generation know but little of bygone events, as in all probability their fathers did not wish a knowledge of them to be preserved, and the women abducted from Tahiti could not explain them. From what few particulars have reached the present day, it would appear that remorse, despair, and recrimination, led to scenes of bloodshed; and not one of the mutineers, in his own person, had to rejoice in the success of his violation of his country's laws. One

of the Tahitian women is still in existence; but she was in a distant part of the island and I did not see her. Their houses, of which, from the scarcity of material, there are only five or six on the island, are built principally from the wreck of the Bounty, and stand with their gable ends due east and west; their interiors being fitted up something like a ship's 'tween-decks, with bunks, or fixed sleeping-berths, running round the sides of the room.

They have a church, Mr. Nobbs being minister; and Sunday is particularly venerated by them. To settle disputes, or any differences that may arise, they annually elect a magistrate, who, upon any disturbance, convenes the heads of families to hear the arguments of the disputants, and is guided by the majority of voices in forming his decision, which is final. They have now got ducks, fowls, pigs, and goats upon the island; but as they have only been introduced of late, by ships touching there, they are not in abundance at present. Independent of the yam and sweet potato, they have the Irish potato, cabbage, onion, and other vegetables; and bananas, plantains, pine-apples, melons, cocoa-nuts, and other tropical fruits; but the islanders begin to complain that population increases too rapidly for the size of the island. They were all carried to Tahiti some few years ago, where they received a friendly welcome, and land was assigned them for their support; but after a short residence, they chartered a vessel to reconvey them to Pitcairn's Island; for, although they liked Tahiti well enough, they were

disgusted at the sensual abandonment of the people, and the lax tone of morality that generally prevailed.

I was informed by Buffitt, another of the Englishmen married on Pitcairn's Island, and who has been living there for the last twenty years, that north-west by north by compass, and distant seventy-two miles from Pitcairn's Island, there is a dangerous sandy reef, about a mile in circumference, known as Oneo Island. No less than three different positions are assigned to it on our chart, under three different names. The error arose from Captain Bond of the Martha having seen it, and, unconscious that it had been previously discovered, having called it Martha Island; and, I suppose to make assurance double sure, the recipient of the information, on his own responsibility, interpolated another island, and christened it Bond's Island. Some of the Pitcairn Islanders visited it in company with Buffitt; and the latter, who has been a sailor, and second mate on board a merchantman, assures me that there is but the one reef, and that it is nearly a wash, and unworthy of the name of an island.* In like manner, some of the Pitcairn Islanders, aware of the near vicinity of Elizabeth Island, and fearing lest at some future period they should be compelled to seek other land for the support of their increasing numbers, induced a whaling vessel to convey them to it, that they might examine its capabilities. To use their own expression, "It is useless, being entirely covered with broken coral." Two of them were

* *Oneo*, in the Tahitian dialect, signifies sand.

engaged in the survey from sunrise till sunset, and came away quite satisfied of its barren untenantable nature; they also confirmed the notion I had already formed, that there was but the one island. Captain Henderson made it shortly after it had been seen by the captain of the Elizabeth, and inserting it in his chart, agreeably to the time shown by his watch, bestowed upon it his own patronym; hence the mistake. And doubtless, from a similar cause, many islands have found existence on the charts that have no existence in reality, particularly in the whaling tracks of the Pacific; the captains of American whalers generally trusting more to "look-outs" than to their accurate knowledge of navigation, a handful of miles, more or less, being of no particular moment to them. Evidences of the existence of an earlier and more primitive race of beings on Pitcairn's Island are frequently turning up, independent of the rude monuments which yet remain in the morais or burial-places. Skeletons are sometimes dug up by the present occupiers of the soil, and rude implements of labour, such as stone axes, spear-heads, &c. Judging from the bones, the former race of inhabitants must have been a large-sized people; but as no human being was found alive on the arrival of the mutineers, nothing but conjecture is left to determine their history.

November 18*th*.—Passed Gambier's Islands; and having corrected our chronometer by Pitcairn's Island, we found it to correspond exactly with the position asigned to them by Captain Beechy, who also surveyed Pitcairn's Island.

November 23*rd.*—Thick hazy weather, so much so, that although the island of Maitea is particularly bold and high, we shot by without seeing it, till it was well aft on our quarter, and then it might have been taken for a cloud. At four P.M. we dropped anchor in Taonoa passage, the wind not allowing us to reach the anchorage off Papeeti. The next day we had to stand to sea again, and bring the vessel in at the western entrance.

What a change had come over the spirit of the place! what an alteration had been effected during my absence! The French had at length thrown off the mask. All the operations that it was rumoured were intended to be directed against the Marquesa Islands were transferred to Tahiti; the whole of the Georgian and Society Isles, with Heaven knows how many others, were declared to be possessions of Louis Philippe of France, and the tricolor was flying on Motuiti, the little islet at the entrance of the harbour. Poor Queen Pomare had been ejected from houses and land, deprived of all rank or estate, and left dependant on the affections of her people for support. Her situation is very affecting; but she bears it firmly, relying on Britain to see her finally restored to her rights. Crowds of her people come daily to see her, bringing her presents of money and provisions. I observe that she has frequently great difficulty in repressing her tears at these proofs of their loyalty, probably also from a sense of her altered condition. She received me as an old friend, but I was obliged to check my expressions of sympathy and regard, as it shook her

firmness, and made her "play the woman with her eyes."

The present posture of affairs was brought about by the intrigues of a needy manœuvring Belgian adventurer. Nearly four years ago, some French priests of the Romish persuasion having landed upon the island, and attempted to disseminate their doctrines; were ordered by the queen to make their exit, for she had no wish that any creed should be introduced amongst her people differing from that which they had already been taught. The priests refused to leave, alleging as a reason that their vessel was not seaworthy. The queen persisted, that as the vessel sufficed to bring them there, so it must serve to take them away again; and ultimately force was employed in expelling them. The Belgian, who had an eye of establishing himself in favour with the French government, and who was, or who had been, acting consul for the United States, *but receiving no salary*, worked himself into a state of zeal bordering on frenzy, in behalf of the banished Frenchmen, and vowed that Tahiti should be taught what it was to trifle with "La grande Nation." Captain Du Petit Thouars arrived shortly after, and extorted from the queen the sum of 2000 dollars, and certain concessions in favour of the priests and Frenchmen generally; the Belgian receiving the firstfruits of his diplomacy, by being nominated Consul de France. Two years or more subsequently to this piece of successful finesse, a disturbance ensued upon the beach, from some drunken French seamen inciting a dog to fight with a favourite dog be-

longing to the queen. The men were placed in confinement for their turbulent conduct, which was strictly in accordance with the laws of the island. Intelligence of the apprehension of his men having reached their captain, he armed the rest of his crew, and without a word of remonstrance or application to the authorities, attacked the house they were confined in, with the idea of liberating them, for which he was justly overpowered and treated to the same suspension of liberty. As he was frantically violent, and Tahitian houses are but of fragile construction, his feet were secured in stocks to prevent his escape, this being the only means they have of ensuring the security of outrageous prisoners. Shortly after this event Du Petit Thouars, now admiral, and commanding the Reine Blanche, again appeared off the island, and sent in a boat to make inquiries. He was on his way to the Sandwich Islands, and had not the intention of entering with his vessel; but the Belgian, encouraged by the success that crowned his first efforts, went off and submitted such statements, and held out such inducements to Du Petit Thouars, that the admiral, fairly cajoled, or blinded by his vanity, brought his vessel into the harbour; and for this last indignity offered to France, he ordered the queen to place herself under the protection of France, and to subscribe a letter addressed to Louis Philippe demanding such protection; and declaring that unless she did so within a given time, he would bring his batteries to bear upon the island, and scatter the settlement to the winds. Pomare who was at the neigh-

bouring island of Moorea, and within a few hours of her accouchement, no sooner received the tidings of this fresh attempt at extortion, than she stoutly refused to sign any document; "she knew its drift," she said, "they wanted to dispossess her of her islands, but they should never have her sanction for doing so, and they might fire upon the place as soon as they pleased." Unhappy woman! with the pangs of labour almost upon her, and surrounded and besieged by timid, ignorant, and interested persons, all entreating her to sign the letter, she at length complied; but in her agony of grief she declared that she only did so to save the lives and property of those foreigners who were living on her land.

On receipt of this bitter document, two officers from the Reine Blanche were sent to reside ashore, and with the Belgian made the Triumvirate forming the provisional government of Tahiti. One was called "Lieutenant Governor," the other "Captain of the Port," and *the Belgian was styled "Royal Commissioner of France."* Not displeased at the happy results his bullying had effected, Du Petit Thouars steered away to extend his fame, and acquire fresh glory. The letter signed by the queen would of course reach Louis Philippe, and as from its contents he could not tell by what means it had been obtained, he would probably be contemplating the honours with which to invest the gallant admiral, for making the simple inoffensive inhabitants of a quiet little island in the Pacific sensible of the grandeur, the might, and the far reaching power of France; for it would be natural to suppose, that a

letter with *Pomare's signature attached* could *be no other than a voluntary act.* Poor misguided Pomare, inexperienced in diplomatic treaties, and looking upon the French as her worst enemies, as how could she do otherwise, since their advent to her island had been the signal of trouble and distress, in her ill judging policy, instead of addressing Louis Philippe, with a protest against the force that had been so cruelly exercised, applied to Britain for assistance, and of course France would be prepared to show Britain her just indignation at the absurdity of such an insulting application. But now appears another and an unexpected actor on the Tahitian stage. Commodore Nicolas arrives in the frigate Vindictive, and the number of appeals which the poor queen makes to him induces the commodore to take a lively interest in her welfare. He refuses to acknowledge the protectorate until he hears from his own government, and promises to shield Pomare from insult and injury. It must be here premised that the provisional government had been for many months left without any executive power, and without seeing the need for any, nor were the Triumvirs molested or interfered with. It must also be observed that no objection had been made to Pomare's retaining her private flag, but in the flag to be used by commercial vessels the French union had been inserted. The queen had been in the habit of visiting the neighbouring islands in a schooner built by her own people, and there were several schooners of similar size and appearance plying between the islands, and flying the flag as it was

when originally presented to them by captain Laws, of H. M. S. Satellite, the same flag being used at all the islands both of the Georgian and Society group, now limited in Tahiti to the queen's private use. About this time, as a vessel was either going out or coming into the harbour, Commodore Nicolas was led to suppose from the flag that the queen was on board, and gave orders for saluting her, and had only time to countermand his instructions on discovering that the vessel belonged to a chief of a neighbouring isle, and did not carry the queen. To avoid mistake for the future, the commodore advised the queen to have some distinguishing mark in her flag that it might be immediately recognised. Delighted at the idea, she requested the commodore to design something for her, as her people were not competent to the task: accordingly the Commodore caused a crown surrounded by a chaplet of cocoa-nut leaves to be wrought in the centre of her flag. The Triumvirs made some demur to this, and requested permission to insert also something in the flag; but Pomare negatived the proposition by saying, "that she was well satisfied with it as it then was, and as she meant to wear a crown, so would she carry the type of it in her flag." Nothing particular occurred during the next six months; but the commodore then left the island by an order from his admiral, to the great dismay of the Queen and her people, who fully believed that the commodore would stand by them until the affairs of the island were finally arranged; and doubted not but that Pomare would be reinstated in her full independent sovereignty.

I was told that after the Vindictive had taken her departure, the queen sat watching and weeping till the frigate was no longer discernible, filled with a melancholy presage of what her fate was likely to be, now that her protector was gone. Her forebodings of ill were only too soon to be realised, for not long after the absence of the "commodore," five French vessels made their appearance in the harbour, bringing with them labourers, artificers, troops, guns, ammunition, a governor and his staff, and the officers necessary for a civil establishment, all of which were originally destined for the Marquesa Islands, which the French had taken possession of some time previously. Pomare was peremptorily ordered to take down her private flag and to substitute some other, as it was insinuated that her selection of the present one had proceeded from a hostile feeling towards France, which consequently could not suffer it to remain in her possession. She might make choice of any other she pleased, or she might retain the old Tahitian flag; but the one with the additions suggested by commodore Nicolas, as they were made for the purpose of insulting France, she should not be allowed to fly. Pomare resolutely refused to take down her flag, or to substitute any other. I heard that the governor went so far as to implore her to yield to circumstances, and pointed out the consequences of her obstinately persisting in a refusal. She repeated what she had before said, "that she was well satisfied with the flag, and would have no other;" and requested the governor, "if he had any

further communications to make, to make them in writing, and she would respond in like manner." But he did not enter into much negotiation about the matter: an hour was appointed for her to take down the obnoxious flag; and when this time arrived, as it was not removed, an armed force was landed, who hauled it down, and hoisting the tricolor, the island was declared to be taken possession of in the name of Louis Philippe of France. Pomare's house and domain were seized upon for the use of the governor and his lady; and the out-offices and other buildings were taken possession of as barracks, &c., for the soldiers, artificers, and others engaged in this invasion.

Such I find to be the state of things; and the foregoing details, if not accurate in every respect, are, at all events, generally true. The French are busy erecting various fortifications, the little islet in front of the harbour and commanding the western entrance receiving their most assiduous attention. The men work hard and fare badly, which may account for their appearance; for the body of Frenchmen now here, are a small ill-favoured set. They cannot for a moment bear comparison with the fine race of beings they came to supersede, and perhaps eventually to destroy.

I try to keep cool, and view things with indifference; but it is of no use, my blood will rise in its temperature, as I see the people who have looked up to us as their protecting allies for so many years, subjected to the insults of a parcel of pigmies, who might vie in appearance with Falstaff's ragged

regiment. There is a dogged sullen look in the eye of the natives, which would bode no good to the Frenchmen if mere physical attributes were to be put in requisition to decide the possession of the soil; but the natives are receding from the vicinity of the harbour, and I look in vain for many a manly form and hearty salutation that used to greet me on my former visits. Murmurs of a threatening import will occasionally pass overhead; but what would avail the unaided resistance of a handful of naked men, however fine their physical qualities, against such a power as France? The poor confiding people still cling to the belief that Britain will relieve them from their troubles, but I fear they are depending on a *broken reed.*

The admiral of the station's ship, the Dublin, a fine frigate of fifty guns, is here, but the admiral himself is rusticating at the Sandwich Islands. Her presence, however, inspires the natives with confidence, although her captain can do nothing but protest against any proceedings not sanctioned by the home governments. Pomare's entreaties to her subjects are, "Be quiet, do nothing till we receive the letter from Britain." She submits to her fate with much philosophical firmness; but I can see that it is all based on her hopes and belief in assistance from us.

December 13th.—Fearing that my quick temper would lead me into encounters better avoided, to-day we got under weigh for Borabora, reaching it on the morning of *December 15th.*—Tapoa, the king of the island, was absent at a small dependent

island called Maupiti, lying between thirty and forty miles westward from Borabora; he had been away nearly three months, and his people were looking for his return with much anxiety. They earnestly entreated me to go for him, "for," said they, "he will come with you, otherwise we don't know when we shall see him." As another inducement for me to go, they assured me that I could obtain abundance of live stock, vegetables, and cocoa-nut oil at Maupiti; and as fresh provisions were not to be obtained in Tahiti, I allowed myself to be persuaded, and, in defiance of a strong westerly wind, we lifted our anchor on December 16th, and beat our way over by the next morning. We fired off guns to announce our presence, as the passage through the reef surrounding the island has any thing but an inviting appearance. A stranger would doubt if there was any entrance at all. The island bears a close resemblance to Borabora, with its abruptly rising bluffs, and might well pass for its son. We had to wait some time before any one showed themselves; at length a boat made her appearance, manned by eight natives: they proved some of the king's personal attendants, who immediately recognised me. They would not recommend me risking the attempt to take the vessel in; and as no trafficking would be allowed for that day, it being Sunday, I went ashore in their boat.

Tapoa received me with great warmth, but resisted all entreaties to return with me to Borabora. The natives were shy at approaching me on my first landing, and on giving the usual friendly salutation,

they made me no answer, but turned away,—unprecedented conduct on the part of these friendly and simple-minded people. To avoid the broiling heat of the sun in the tedious pull against the current, I landed at once, and the boat was to pick me up again at a point opposite the settlement. I expected to be surrounded by the curious, but not a soul came near me. On reaching the point, the boat had not arrived; and whilst waiting for it, the peculiarity of their behaviour was accounted for. Three strangers made their way towards me, laden with green cocoanuts, which they cast at my feet, proffering their hands, and greeting me with much cordiality. The poor fellows had taken me for a Frenchman, and they thought the vessel outside was a French ship that had come to make preparatory arrangements for taking their island. On discovering their error, they made after me in the manner above described. The feeling towards the French was bitter in the extreme, and the secret of Tapoa's long stay at Maupiti unwittingly escaped from his wife's lips. "The French," said she, "will break their ships if they attempt to come in here, but at Borabora they can enter at any time."

I staid trading with them till *December 19th*; nor had I been deceived as to the articles they had for barter. In pulling off to the vessel it came on to rain and blow with great violence, and the atmosphere was so thick and hazy that we lost sight of the schooner; and after three or four hours' hard pulling we had to make the best of our way back again. Scarcely had we reached the set-

tlement, when the boat ahead cried out that the vessel was close into the reef. I induced the good-natured fellows to give way once more, and this time we reached her; but, before we had discharged the boats it was blowing a complete gale, and we had drifted considerably from the island. I did not like the appearance of the night, and wished the natives to remain with me till next morning; but they had no fear, and having refreshed themselves, all stepped into the king's boat, and, double banking the oars, off they started. We lost sight of them immediately, and were ourselves compelled to heave to under a balanced reef storm-mainsail. I had sore misgivings for their safety, but the captain endeavoured to persuade me that they would not feel the wind so violently close in with the reef; and as they were all powerful men, my doubts were suspended, but not satisfied. All night it blew "great guns," and at daybreak we discovered we had drifted nearly on to the reef at the starboard side of the entrance to Borabora harbour. It was fortunate that the captain knew the course by compass, for the island was so densely enveloped in fog that we could not see a cable's length beyond us. Even the bold mountainous swell, not a mile from us, and more than 1,400 feet high, was hidden in the impervious haze; and, but for the accuracy of his judgment, we must have gone ashore. As it was, he caused the foresail to be dropped, and we ran in; but hardly had we cleared the passage when the wind suddenly and absolutely ceased, and we were obliged to let go our anchor more than a mile below the usual an-

chorage: and when the mist cleared away and showed us to the natives, they shouted out that the French had stolen in upon them to take their island.

The portentous gloom of the morning, as night advanced, began to betray the nature of its threatening import, the wind again whistled, and the sea rose unusually high. The missionary resident had invited me to his house; but knowing the captain to be out of the vessel, I felt restless and uneasy, and on directing my gaze towards the sea; *behold! it was breaking in curling crests right across the mouth of the harbour.* I was so startled, that I despatched a note at once to the captain, requesting him to look seaward, and to let go his second anchor. This sent him on board; but not a moment too soon, for at eight P. M. a very tempest was raging. Apologising to the family for my hasty departure, I hurried to the beach to watch the vessel. The sea was lashed into foam, and the water in the harbour was frothing in fury; the wind howled fearfully, there was no possibility of getting off to the vessel, and I was compelled to remain a passive spectator.

As the night wore on, the fury of the gale increased. The darkness was intense, save when the lightning, at intervals, flashed upon the scene, rendering the heavens, to the northward and westward, a vault of livid fire. So long as the lightning continued its fitful glare, I could catch occasional glimpses of the vessel, as she strained and laboured at her anchors; but when it ceased I became a prey to the most painful anxiety. The wind continued increasing in might, till it appeared to me impossible

that it could blow harder. I had taken shelter in the king's house; but the natives, dreading every moment to see it torn about their ears, had fled for shelter further inland. I persisted in remaining till I felt the waves washing against the walls and beneath the raised foundation of the house, and until the flooring and partitions were burst up and broken by the masses of coral rock hurled in by the sea. On my first attempting to escape, I was blown flat on my back; and as I struggled off the verandah, I found myself up to my neck in the water, and the waves beating over me. I struck out for dear life, and succeeded in gaining a footing somewhere beyond the public road. The scene at this time was fearful; the raging waves, by their own unearthly light, showed the ravages they were committing. The natives, washed out of their houses, were hurrying to and fro, like demons of the storm, with flaring torches. As you contended against the furious blast, and the dangers that surrounded you, you were continually stumbling over the wrecks of houses and fences, and fallen trees; and as often as I ventured to turn my eyes in that direction where the vessel had been left, the only thing discernible was the sparkling of the waves, tossing in the wildest frenzy. I gave her up for lost, and was led to the harrowing conclusion that "all hands" had perished. To keep my mind from dwelling on this supposition, and also to see if I could render any assistance to the missionary and his infant family, we fought our way to his residence, though frequently com-

pelled to lie down to the blast, and cling to the earth to recover breath. The family had been removed to a more secluded, and better sheltered spot; but the house being much further inland than the generality of the buildings, and somewhat protected by the shoulder of a hill, it had not yet yielded, although much damaged, and they were in hourly anticipation of its going.

Again I hastened to the beach, and we narrowly escaped death. A large tree torn up by the roots, dashed down within a few paces of us; and such was the roaring of the blast, that we never heard the crashing of the tree, and only knew the danger we had escaped by the blow received on our legs and faces, and from finding ourselves entangled in the maze of branches that had been precipitated to the earth. Finding I could do nothing, for a greater power than man's was abroad, I had to wait in the best way I could till dawn. The kindness and anxiety evinced for me by the natives will, so long as I am in being, be remembered with deep gratitude. Amidst all their difficulties, and the trouble they were in to save their families and property from destruction, they would be continually calling to know if I was safe; and one or other of them would seek my hand and grasp it to make sure. Three times during that fearful night were we washed from different places of refuge; and even as they started up to fly, the first cry was for me.

With the first symptoms of returning light I was down upon the beach as far as I dared to

wade, on the look out for the vessel. The hurricane had abated, but the wind was still high. In vain I strained my eyes and scanned the troubled waters: the vessel was not to be seen. The painful conviction that all had perished was borne upon my mind, and I was turning slowly and sorrowfully away, when happening to cast my eyes to the opposite extremity of the harbour, there, to my unspeakable satisfaction, I discovered the schooner, all *ataunto*, with her royal yard across, and dashing the spray from her bows, as she rocked and tossed on the fretted billows. Never before did I experience such a sensation as her appearance in safety gave me; I could neither laugh nor cry. The sudden transition was too great, my joy amounted to pain; "for sudden joy, like sudden grief, will kill." These feelings subsided, I had time to pay attention to my neighbours, and what a scene of desolation did I witness! Not a house upon the island stood entire; the beach was strewed with wreck, and scarcely a bread-fruit tree was standing. The devastation was terrible, not a vestige of either of the churches remained. Some beautiful large trees that used to grace the beach had been torn up by the roots, and *all the small craft* that the natives had been engaged in building were buried in the sand and debris thrown up by the sea, or were broken and carried inland; and the houses appropriated for the manufacture of cocoa-nut oil, with boats, troughs, casks, &c., were utterly destroyed and washed away.

The safety of our schooner excited much admiration and congratulation amongst the natives; but

their own losses never seemed to give them a moment's uneasiness. They talked about their food and houses being all destroyed with as much unconcern as if it was an occurrence of no consequence; and whilst searching amongst the ruins for the chance of recovering any of their missing property, you could hear them laughing and jesting one with the other as if the whole was only a fit subject for a joke. I was much struck with the coolness of one old man. By the labour of years, he had erected a snug, neat little cottage, built in the European style; he had besides amassed some little property, and owned a vessel of about twenty tons burden, which was hauled alongside his house; he had also out-houses for storing oil, troughs, &c. His vessel was crushed by a large iron-wood tree falling across it, and the point on which his houses, &c., were standing was washed as bare as the palm of my hand.

"The dwelling-house," said he, with a smile, "was carried bodily out to sea, and remained for a little tossing about like a ship; but at last the waves crumbled it up."

"But have you lost everything?" asked the missionary.

"All's done!" he replied, extending his fingers and depressing the palms of his hands; "the sea has swallowed it all." And with this he walked away, apparently as unconcerned as if nothing had happened.

The natives of Borabora are, I believe, considered the most valiant of the natives of the Society Isles. They certainly display more energy and enterprise

than the others, and in former days they were the boldest warriors. They expressed a firm determination never to submit to French government.

I laughed, and enquired, "What will you do?"

"Wait till you see," was the rejoinder.

"But," said I, "by offering resistance, you will only involve yourselves in certain destruction."

"We don't know that; and even if we do, we would rather die than live under their rule."

They handed me a letter, sent by Pomare to Tapoa, at Maupiti, and who forwarded it by me for the perusal of his chiefs. The following is a literal translation: —

"December 12th, 1843, Paofai, Tahiti.

"To Ariipapa and his family,

"Peace be to you, and to your little child also. We sympathise with you and your little girl in your dwelling down below, hearing of all the trouble that has fallen upon these lands. The land is not well. The letter has not yet arrived from England for which we are waiting; we are living in fear and trouble. If anything should be heard that is displeasing to France, the person is fastened in irons and sent away. Penehata made known to us a little speech; which circumstance was told to Praita and —— (naming the Belgian incendiary), and he was fastened in irons and sent to Raiatea. We are indeed dwelling in the midst of fear and trouble. Were it not for the English ship of war, we should have long since been scattered to the mountains.

The English ship of war is our only place of refuge. The French are erecting fortifications, for which purpose they are cutting down the cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees. One French ship of war has gone to the Marquesas for the purpose of bringing soldiers to Tahiti. It is not known that they will all dwell at Papeeti; it is conjectured that they will spread over all parts of the land, and by that means be the cause of many Frenchmen coming here; such is the opinion of the inhabitants of Moorea and Tahiti. The desire of the people is, to fall upon the French and utterly destroy them; but this is not agreed to, although it is the general wish of the people entirely to annihilate these Frenchmen; and if but a word had escaped from us, importing, "Come!" a disturbance would long since have ensued. But we are waiting with patience for the letter from England; for should we begin now ourselves, we understand that no assistance will be granted us from England hereafter. Peace be to you and to the child.

(Signed) "ARIIFAAITI, T.

"To Tapoa and his family,
Maupiti, Borabora."

Amongst the chieftains of the islands, Tapoa is addressed either as Tapoa or Ariipapa. Arii means king. The above letter, in the original, is written and subscribed by the queen's husband; the T. after his signature indicating tani, or husband. In another letter, on domestic matters, written by Pomare herself, she signs herself, Ariifaaiti, V.; the V. standing for vahini, or wife.

It will be seen by the foregoing that all their hopes are centred in Britain, but I fear they are uselessly reposed. Many years ago, when the guava tree was first introduced into the country, on the natives observing how rapidly it spread, over-running the soil, and killing all other trees in its way, they pronounced it to be typical of their forthcoming doom. They foresaw by this, that their land would be taken away from them by foreigners, and that they would ultimately be all destroyed. They now alluded to this saying. The signs of the times are favouring the prediction.

I accompanied the missionary in an excursion over the island, and we found that it had suffered everywhere from the effects of the hurricane. On our return to the harbour, the boat that had quitted the schooner off Maupiti was there. The poor fellows had been blown to Raiatea. They informed me, that just as they had made the passage three of their oars broke, and in spite of all their exertions they were carried out to sea, both wind and current setting them there. They had a small spritsail, which they set, and tried to overtake us; but darkness, and the fear of swamping the boat, induced them to keep her dead before the wind. They missed Borabora, and were brought up by Taaha, whence they crossed over to Raiatea. "The sea," they said, "was very terrible, and they never expected to live through the night." I elicited these particulars by a series of cross questions, as they met me with the air of having separated from me only an hour or two ago, and unless I had

questioned them, they would have scarcely made allusion to the imminent peril they had encountered. They made no attempt at extortion, but took their compulsory trip as a thing of course, a chance they were at all times liable to. Time is of no great value to them; and so long as the wants of nature are supplied, it seems of little consequence, where or how they pass it. They gained Raiatea before the hurricane commenced, otherwise nothing could have saved them. I offered to take them and their boat back to Maupiti in the vessel, but they preferred adopting their own time and pleasure with the boat.

January 2nd, 1844.—Bade farewell to the missionary and his family, and to the kind-hearted natives of Borabora, for whom I feel a more than ordinary attachment, from the affectionate solicitude displayed towards me on the occasion of the common danger. The same afternoon, at three o'clock, we dropped anchor in the harbour of Huaru, opposite captain Hunter's location. The hurricane had visited Raiatea pretty roughly, but not quite so harshly as it had treated Borabora; marks of its devastating progress were visible in every part of the island. Four unhappy beings, who were living on an islet within the reef were washed away, and nothing was ever seen of them again. Captain Hunter's place had suffered severely: the parterres in front of his dwelling, and all the little elegant arrangements of his daughters, were annihilated, and a bed of sand and coral deposited in lieu. His warehouses, sugar plantation, &c., had

also sustained much injury; and the cheerful prospect that was wont to smile around his abode is, for a season, entirely destroyed.

January 8th.—We had finished taking in and stowing thirty tuns of oil, purchased from captain Hunter, when, bidding him and his hospitable family circle adieu, we again got under weigh and steered for Huaheine, reaching it *January 10th.*—From this date till the 16th we were busily engaged receiving cargo. Huaheine had suffered nothing from the gale in comparison with the islands we had just left, and no damage of any consequence had ensued.

January 16th.—Lifted our anchor, to let it go again, on the *17th*, in the harbour of Papeeti. To my regret I found the Dublin making every preparation for sailing by nine o'clock the next morning. Intelligence had arrived by the government ketch Basilisk that some disturbance had broken out at Mexico, and the Dublin was ordered to the Sandwich Islands to take up the admiral. This announcement produced quite a damp on the spirits of the natives, and tearful melancholy was visible in all the faces of the queen's household.

January 18th.—True enough, the Dublin was off at the hour signified; and we were left with the little Basilisk sole guardian and supporter of British interests on the island. The British consul *accredited to queen Pomare* was not recognised by the French since their usurpation of the island; and they refused to receive him, even provisionally, in such capacity, alleging that Mr. Pritchard's influence with the natives was too inimical to French interests. The

Dublin had not been gone many days before the self-constituted authorities despatched armed boats to various parts of the island to arrest certain chiefs, zealous adherents to the queen's interests; and even Mr. Pritchard, the British consul, was threatened with deportation from the island. When the Dublin took her departure, the natives became so discontented, that casting aside all hopes of assistance from Britain, they determined on a general rising, to try and effect their own deliverance. News of their intention reaching the ears of the missionaries at the different stations, they wrote to Mr. Pritchard, apprising him of the rumour, and requesting his assistance in trying to prevent the effusion of blood. Mr. Pritchard lost no time in consulting with the queen, who despatched a letter to her chiefs and people, praying them to be orderly and to obey the laws: and she concluded, "Do not believe that Britain has cast us off; we have still one little ship left to watch over us, and two large vessels of war are expected here shortly. Wait patiently for the letter from England. Do these French people no wrong, neither enter into any quarrel with them. Be kind to them, and bear all with great patience; take me for your guide; wait patiently, and pray fervently, that we may be delivered from the great afflictions that have fallen upon us, the same as fell upon Hezekiah whom the Lord delivered." For promulgating this letter, some of the most influential of Pomare's chiefs were seized in the dead of night, and conducted, for greater security, to one of the men-of-war. It is impossible to describe the consternation those stealthy

proceedings excited; amazement and dismay sat on every countenance.

One aged chief, nearly seventy years old, when the guard roused him from his slumbers by the side of his wife, demanded "why they broke in upon his sleep like a thief in the night? What crime had he committed that he was to be made a prisoner of." He refused to step into the boat, requiring to be confronted with the governor. The only answer to the old man's remonstrances was a rude thrust, which knocked his hat off, and he was hustled into the boat without ceremony. Another old chief was arrested by an armed force for treating with contempt the French authority. This old man was one of the most devoted of Pomare's partisans, and as an illustration of native character, I will describe the particulars of his offence. On a French proclamation being issued, in the native language, the old man, looking at it, said to some of his followers, "What is that? I can't see it! 'tis too high!" It was lowered; "'Tis too high! I can't see it!" Again it was lowered, and again he repeated the same words, till it was at length laid upon the ground. "Good! that is good!" and covering it with dirt, "thus," he continued, "should the enemies of Tahiti be hidden from our sight."

February 2nd.—Last night, influenced by her fears, on seeing some armed soldiers pass the temporary and insecure building occupied by her, Pomare fled on board the Basilisk, and claimed the protection of the British flag. Rumours had frequently reached the queen that it was the intention of the

French to make themselves masters of her person; and though I have been credibly informed that nothing was further from their contemplation, still, the capture of so many chiefs devoted to her service left Pomare but little reason to believe that her person would be any more respected, if it should suit the convenience of the French to seize it; consequently, whilst she had it in her power, she sought for refuge beneath our flag. The announcement of her arrival on board, was immediately conveyed to the commander, who happened to be ashore at the time, and the protection which she sought was not withheld.

For the last two or three days the vessel has been ready for sea, and I have made up my mind once more to proceed to Valparaiso, touching at Anā, or Chain Island, to take in fifteen or twenty tons of cocoa-nut oil collected there. Hitherto the detention of the vessel arose from negotiations which we had entered into with the French government; and now, fearing hostilities from the steps taken by the queen, I felt loth to quit the island until assured of its tranquillity. I waited upon commander Hunt, of the Basilisk, and condoled with poor Pomare. The commander desired me to dismiss all apprehensions, as there were not the slightest grounds for supposing that any disturbance would ensue. He had seen the governor, who explained with regard to the captured chiefs, that it was merely his intention to keep them out of the way for a time, until the feverish excitement of the people had somewhat abated, and which the presence of the chiefs only tended to promote.

And for the same reason, the governor assumed a high tone, and prohibited the queen's return to the shore unless she appeared as a private individual, and amenable as such to the laws of France.

The commander favours this style of argument: he contends that for the time being, we are in a French colony and he sees nothing in the acts as yet enforced at variance with the constitution of the French code. He says he has in vain pointed out, that being under French government, it is necessary to observe the same conduct as if living in France; and that in the latter country, when persons betray disaffection, or become the objects of suspicion to the state, they are apprehended and dealt with accordingly; and he therefore thought it would be better for all parties, having any interest at stake upon the island, to consider themselves English subjects resident in France. He repeated his assurances that there was not the remotest chance of any collision between himself and the French authorities. Satisfied on this head, I made my bow and gave directions for getting under weigh, and at six P.M. we were outside the reef on our way to Anā.

February 3rd.—In the middle night-watch, between two and three o'clock A.M., we were close to the little island called Tituroa, situated about twenty-five miles due north from Point Venus. It is a low flat coral island, well covered with cocoa-nut trees. Fatness is considered a beauty with the Tahitians, and it was to this island that Pomare went previous to her marriage in order to be fattened. Bananas, I believe, are in great abundance there; and a food

called "popoi," made from this fruit pounded up with the kernels of young cocoa-nuts, is exceedingly fattening. Great variety of fish is also abundantly obtained from the reefs round the island. I have been told by those many years resident at Tahiti, that when Pomare returned from Tituroa she could not be recognised as the gracefully formed girl that went away.

February 14th.—We were abreast of Chain Island this morning, but much time was lost from my not knowing the exact spot to proceed to. The only place for rafting off oil is on the north-north-west side of the island; and even there the casks have to be rolled a long distance over a rugged reef, and with northerly or westerly winds nothing can be done. Four white men were staying at the settlement, and they had collected between them nearly sixty tons of oil.

February 15th.—Hard at it all day, up to my waist in the water, superintending rafting off oil. New laws and regulations have been introduced amongst the Chain Islanders by two of the petty chieftains from Tahiti. They have adopted the curfew bell system, which rings at eight o'clock; and after that hour, any of the natives found strolling about are apprehended and placed in confinement. They have also instituted fines to punish incontinency, the amount being doubled if married persons are the delinquents. Whilst engaged rafting a lot of casks, one of the white men came down and told me that they were at that moment trying a girl in the church; and as soon as the last cask was shoved off, I went out of curiosity to witness the trial. But my curiosity

was exceeded by my astonishment when I found the charge exhibited against the girl was, that she had committed herself with me, and that four fellows had sworn that they were eyewitnesses to her guilt. Just as I came up, the judge, with the Tahitian printed code of laws in his hand, had summed up the evidence, and was directing the girl to be fined in twenty fathoms (forty yards) of cloth, being ten for herself, and ten for me, the upright judge not deeming it necessary to try me, nor even to apprise me of what was going on. Much incensed, I challenged the verdict, and desired that the girl's accusers might be confronted with me. The judge objected, saying the trial was finished; but I insisted, and warned the court against carrying the amercement into execution.

"Easy! easy!" said the judge.

"I'll not be easy," I replied, "when I witness such an abuse of the laws; let me see the liars, and I'll soon prove their falsehood. It is true I'm only single-handed amongst you, and can't give you your deserts for such a base exercise of authority; but you shall make me a prisoner before you inflict the fine, whilst the vessel proceeds to where I direct her, and on her return we'll see if you also can stand a trial."

"That will do! that will do!" cried the equitable holder of the balance of justice, "let the witnesses show themselves."

The worthies came, looking much more like culprits than honest men; and after I had put a few questions, they so prevaricated and committed themselves, that

they were glad to sneak away, and the poor abashed girl was acquitted. One half the penalty goes to the informer. It was well known that the girl had no cloth, but the vagabonds thought by implicating her with me, that I would pay the fine rather than see her imprisoned; and there was considerable mirth excited amongst the other natives at the sheepish appearance of the witnesses when I so unexpectedly came and "turned the tables;" but I could not induce the judge to punish them for their perjury.

By noon on *February* 16*th* we had finished taking in, and as the wind admitted of our making easting, we lost no time in prosecuting our voyage.

February 18*th*.—Early this morning land was descried from the mast-head, and at noon we were well up with it. It was a large lagoon island, and had several clusters of cocoa-nut trees upon it. We made its latitude to be 19° 54′ S., and the longitude of its centre to be about 144° 54′ W. I could see no signs of any inhabitants. We attempted to land in the boat; but the send of the sea was so heavy on the coral reef that we feared staving her, and I was not sufficiently expert as a swimmer to trust myself through the breakers. From the disposition of the various groves of cocoa-nut trees, I imagine there must be natives on the island, although probably they were too frightened to show themselves; but if there were, they could not have formed a very high opinion of our prowess on witnessing our abortive attempts to land. On the chart San Pablo is expressed as being "hereabouts;" and in 1835 the master of a French vessel fell in with an island

corresponding in description with the one we saw. He gave its latitude 10° 41′ S., longitude 145° W.; but as he worked by dead reckoning, and made the island in hazy weather, a few miles error in his calculation might be accounted for. The lagoon seemed very extensive, but I saw no appearance of any entrance to it for a vessel.

Our agent has a chart in which this island is called Surry Island. Some months subsequently to our falling in with it, he also made it, and having thirty or forty divers on board, they dragged boats over the reef into the lagoon and explored it.

A family was living on the island, whose history is remarkable. Many years ago, a middle-aged native belonging to one of the islands in close proximity to Chain Island was crossing from one island to another in a small canoe, accompanied only by his four young children, a son and three daughters. They were caught in a northerly gale, and, compelled to scud before it, were brought up by this island, which is the veritable Hereheretue (see entries March 9th, 1843, and June 2nd, 1844). The island proved uninhabited, and incapable of again leaving it, here this family remained. As the children reached puberty, the son took his sisters to wife, and had a family by all of them. Our agent offered to convey the whole community to any other inhabited island, and his proposal was gladly accepted. The father was now an exceedingly aged man, and the son a powerful man in the prime of life. Unfortunately, when these poor people, were thrown amongst the divers, the three sisters were unable to resist the force

or the blandishments of the strangers. A fierce morosity came over both father and son, and they refused their food; but in the night *the two* attempted to capture the vessel. The years of the old man incapacitated him from much exertion, but the son defied the whole strength of the vessel, and darted his spear without quitting its hold at every one that came near him. He sheltered himself beneath one of the whale-boats turned bottom up on the deck, and when the divers succeeded in grasping the spear, their united force could not wrest it from him without the risk of tearing out the side of the boat, and they were obliged to cut it. A strict watch was thereafter kept, and every means tried to conciliate the old man and his son; but alas! they availed not, both obstinately persisted in refusing all sustenance, and the old man died on the day they sighted the island they were bound for, and the son expired as they were conveying him ashore. The women and children were finally taken to Chain Island.

February 24th. — At dawn Rapa was visible, and on making the harbour I had a boat lowered and pulled in. Since my last visit, three vessels had been there and engaged divers, now all returned. They spoke in very unfavourable terms of their employers, particularly of the captain of a French vessel, who, they said, not only used to abuse them and knock them about, but absolutely half starved them; and consequently they concealed from him all the pearls they could. I saw a beautiful one in their possession, but the native who offered it for sale had such notions of its value as to preclude my buying it.

I made a tender of property that to him must have appeared of great value; but he shook his head, "he had been to Mangarava (Gambier's Islands), and there he learnt that for a very small pearl very large payment was made; and if I would go to Tahiti and load the vessel with goods and bring them to him, and then go again and return with another shipload, he would let me have the pearl." I declined robbing him, as I told him "I did'nt think he asked enough;" but if he could make up his mind to receive three shiploads, we might come to terms. Content to be in possession of his pearl, he tied it up in a corner of the dirty piece of rag that girded his loins and walked away.

The next day being sabbath, and no trading allowed, I passed it on the island. All my divers came to see me, and one made me a present of a fine hog. They had given up all hopes of seeing me again, as immediately after my last departure they were visited with such dreadful weather, and of so long continuance, that all the low lands were under water, and every tree of any size was blown down, together with a great many of their houses. Their confidence in the vessel was greatly increased, and several volunteered to go to the Main with me. I took advantage of this favourable disposition, and carried three on board, one being a native of Anā. He was at home at once, and as unconcerned as any in the vessel. One of the Rapa natives also evinced no depression of spirits at quitting country and friends for the first time; but the other, on the evening of *February 26th*, as the island fast receded from our view, and the shades of night were closing round us,

appeared to be for the first time struck with the novelty of his situation, and to be sensible of the step he had taken: suddenly his mirth forsook him, and sitting down on the main hatchway, with his head buried in his arms, he commenced bellowing like an ox. The ludicrous transition of his feelings so capsized my gravity, that I could scarcely speak to him for laughing; but after I had bantered him a little, and cheered him up with a few encouraging words, he became tolerably composed, and went below.

CHAP. II.

Arrive at Valparaiso.—Letters from Tahiti. — Some Account of the Troubles going on there. — Get under weigh for that Island.—Ambrose and Felix Islands. — Cruize for Pilgrim's Island. — No Signs of its Existence. — Les four Facardines prove to be Faeatae, and uninhabited. — An Interview with the Savages. — Thrum Cap Island. — At Bow Island hear of the friendly Captain of the Jules de Blosville. — Sight the Two Groups.—Just in time to be saved from the Wreck. —Remarks on the incertitude of the Position of the Paumutu Islands. — Touch at Chain Island, and hear that Hostilities have commenced between the French and Tahitians. — Off Tahiti fall in with a Whale-boat bottom up, and notice Signs of Disturbances on the Shore. — Enter the Harbour. — Narrative of Events that transpired during the Writer's absence. — A Missionary shot. — His Funeral.—A Scene on board the Ketch Basilisk. — "Britons never shall be Slaves." — Constant Excitement and Alarm. — Daring of a Native. — Arrival of Lord George Paulet in the Carysfort. — Departure of Queen Pomare for the Leeward Islands. —A Trip to collect the Effects abandoned by the Missionaries. — Sail for Borabora with forty or fifty of the Queen's Adherents. — Interview with the Queen at Raiatea.

"Some hidden disappointment clings
To all of man — to all his schemes;
And life has little fair it brings
Save idle dreams."

April 4th.— WITHOUT any thing worthy of note transpiring since my last entry, to-day we were once more at anchor in Valparaiso harbour.

Considerable improvements are manifest in the port; the scene of the fire is entirely effaced, and the most that could be made of the ground has been done in covering it with substantial factories. My savages did not appear much struck with the wonders that greeted them; their looks indicated no astonishment, nor did they utter any exclamations of surprise. After a few days I procured them lodgings ashore; but although the quarters were comfortable, and they were treated kindly, they were eager to return to the vessel again: perhaps the reason was, that I was too much occupied to show them much attention, and they were surrounded by strangers to whom they could not make themselves understood. The climate moreover did not agree with them, and they were continually asking me when I intended sailing.

May —. — Letters from Tahiti give us strange accounts of the proceedings of the French. The natives have at length been roused to action, and have quitted Papeeti for the mountains. Mr. Pritchard has been made prisoner, and the quarters of Europeans are under martial law.

Whilst we were wondering at these statements, Mr. Pritchard himself made his appearance, and confirmed every thing that had been reported. Fortunately for the representative of the Queen of England, H. M. S.V. Cormorant had been sent to Tahiti to mark the proceeding; and the French *authorities, choosing to assume the belief* that she was destined for the Feejee Islands, *hinted to the captain that it would be advisable for him to continue his*

mission, as his presence disturbed the tranquillity of the island. Anxious for the relief of Mr. Pritchard, who was kept a close prisoner in solitary confinement, and denied the privilege of landing at any of the Georgian or Society Isles, the captain of the Cormorant stipulated for Mr. Pritchard's liberty, and put to sea; but not until the Cormorant was outside the harbour was Mr. Pritchard taken on board. The following are the particulars that transpired.

In consequence of a report that the natives were about to rise and murder all the foreigners but Mr. Pritchard, British consul, Mr. Collie, merchant, and Dr. Johnstone, British subjects, the authorities issued a public notice, the English translation of which was as follows: —

"French Establishments in the Ocean.

"The Commandant for the time being of the Society Isles, declares what follows: —

"ART. 1. — Until the return of His Excellency the Governor; the establishments of the bay comprised between Cocoa-nut Point and the barracks of the Uranie, are declared in a state of siege.

"ART. 2. — All European and native residents must be within their houses at evening gun-fire, and not receive any person after that hour.

"ART. 3. — After evening gun-fire, until that of the morning, patrols commanded by the commissary of police can demand entrance or openly force and search any house that may appear suspicious, or in which they may suspect a meeting of persons other than those who inhabit the house.

"ART. 4. — At evening gun-fire all the fires in the native houses must be put out.

"ART. 5. — The boats of foreign ships, of whatever nation, must have left the beach at evening gun-fire, taking with them their whole crew, and all passengers who have come on shore during the day. It is forbidden that any officer, sailor, or passenger, should sleep ashore.

"ART. 6. — From one gun-fire to the other, foreign ships are warned that, beside the shots they would expose their men to, in sending their boat ashore, the crew of the boat will be arrested, and the boat immediately sunk or destroyed.

"ART. 7. — If the patrols or rounds of gensdarme find in the houses which they visit people who do not reside there, beside the arrest of these persons, and of the persons of the proprietors, and of the confiscation or immediate destruction of all wine, alcohol, or other spirits, the houses may be destroyed, and their materials transported at the convenience of the commandant for the time being, to construct guard houses, magazines, or useful shelter for the garrison.

"ART. 8. — Whether the establishment preserves its tranquillity, or that it should become disturbed during the night by any cause, it is expressly forbidden to Europeans and natives to leave their houses: those who do not conform to this order will expose themselves not only to arrest, but to the fire of the patrol.

"ART. 9. — The agents of the native police, whose duty it is to watch at night, shall come each night to the barracks of the gensdarme, which they will not

leave for their duty without a light, and accompanied by a French gendarme.

"ART. 10.—The officers of the establishments whose duty or any other motive shall require their being out of their houses after gun-fire, must have a light.

"ART. 11.—At evening gun-fire, all boats or canoes belonging to residents or natives, must be hauled up at least ten times the length of the boat or canoe from high-water mark. Any boat or canoe found afloat after eight o'clock will be sunk or destroyed.

"ART. 12.—All whale-boats or canoes manned by natives, or containing any, which may come into the bay, or which may wish to leave during the day, must come to the station-house that they may be searched, to make sure that they do not contain wines, alcohol, munitions of war, arms, or any suspicious articles.

"ART. 13.—Boats of French men of war who wish to come ashore or remain there after gun-fire must be provided with a light, as well as the officers of the fleet.

"ART. 14.—It is forbidden to foreigners and natives to fire or explode boxes, whether by day or night, in the whole space in the state of siege. Transgressors will be arrested, their arms seized, and their houses searched.

"The Commandant-particular of the Society Islands,

(Signed) "D'AUBIGNY.

"Papeeti, 22nd March, 1844."

This act of M. D'Aubigny exhibits the cunning of a fox; for not many hours after the place had been declared under martial law, the British consul was seized opposite his own door, torn from his family, and dragged to a block-house on the brow of the mountain, at the back of the settlement, and thrust through a trap-door into a dark dungeon; where, after he had been kept fifteen or sixteen hours without food or water, a document to the following effect was handed to him:

"French Establishments in the Ocean.

"A French sentinel was attacked in the night of the 2nd to the 3rd March. In reprisal, I have caused to be seized one Pritchard, the only daily mover and instigator of the disturbances of the natives.

"His property shall be answerable for all damages occasioned to our establishments by the insurgents; and, if French blood is spilt, every drop shall fall back upon his head.

"The Commandant-particular of the Society Islands,
(Signed) "D'AUBIGNY.

"Papeeti, 3rd March, 1844."

The charge is trumpery and transparent enough; and Mr. Pritchard solemnly declares that it is utterly without foundation, as he was no more conscious of a native's attacking or being about to attack a French sentinel, than was the British consul in Valparaiso: besides there is only M. D'Aubigny's word for it, that an attack was made. No attempt was made to substantiate the charge against Mr. Pritchard, and

after he had been kept for about a fortnight in solitary confinement, he was carried out to sea, and there placed on board the Cormorant, without having been allowed to approach his dwelling to make any arrangement of his papers, or to provide in any way for the disposition of his property, or the welfare of his family. Sharp work this! The captain of the Cormorant, not having the authority nor the power to carry things with a high hand, could only protest against such violence; and, as the speediest way of obtaining redress, he deemed it the wisest plan to hasten with Mr. Pritchard direct to Valparaiso. The frigate Vindictive being on the very point of sailing for England, Mr. Pritchard was immediately accommodated by Commodore Nicholas with a passage, that he might personally prefer his own complaint. I hear that Englishmen have been treated like dogs in Tahiti, but I presume this last outrageous insult offered to England through one of her consuls will not be overlooked.

May 14*th.*—With sundry misgivings, this afternoon we got under weigh for Tahiti. My doubts are, as to the prudence of taking down a cargo whilst such tyrannical measures are in force. The venture is precarious, but I solace myself with the thought that no business is carried on without risk.

May 19*th.*—At eight o'clock this morning an island was plainly visible in the distant horizon: we were going sometimes five and sometimes seven knots, but we were not abreast of it till six o'clock in the evening, so that it was discernible at least between fifty and sixty miles off. It is named on the chart

Ambrose Island, and is in latitude 26° 32′ S. longitude 80° 11′ W.: it is a small but very high clump, and at a distance resembles Isle Masafuera. We ran close alongside: it is steep and I should suppose about the size of Pitcairn's Island, but loftier, and of a more rugged and barren appearance. We could not distinguish a shrub on its scarped sides, and it is apparently tenantless and inaccessible. One or two rocks or islets off it on the eastern side are covered with birds' dung, which, at a distance, looks like snow; and I imagine the island to be the resort of innumerable sea birds, whose solitude has never been intruded on by the foot of man. Fifteen or twenty miles to the westward of Ambrose Island there is another small island, which is happy in the name of "Felix;" it is also high land, but it dips in the centre like a saddle, and it has level land running from either point. An isolated rock, resembling a brig under full sail, shewed itself a considerable distance from the most northern point, and as it was getting too dark to distinguish objects, to avoid hidden danger we altered our course, and steered due north till well clear of the islands.

June 2nd.—We have had light and baffling winds since the last entry. To-day, being in the latitude and longitude of the position assigned to the "Pilgrim's Island" of Captain Delana, and not seeing it, we devoted our time till the sun went down in cruising for it, but without success, and as there were no birds in our vicinity, and nothing in the appearance of the water to indicate the presence of land, we presume that Captain Delana was "taken in" by one

of those nebulary illusions so frequently observed upon the ocean, and designated by sailors "Cape Fly-away."

June 22nd. — The weather we have experienced this year has been very different from what we experienced in the last at this season: then, from the latitude of 17° to 40° S., we encountered nothing but a succession of easterly and south-easterly gales, that drove us fearfully out of our course; now we have had great difficulty in getting to the northward of the 25th degree, the prevalent winds having been light, and from the northward, westerly. After much tedious work, we gained the latitude of 20° S., and shortly after the easterly trades reached us. This day, at dawn, we descried an acquaintance in the dangerous archipelago, to wit, Les *four* Facardines, or Lagoon Island, and which my divers, on a former occasion of passing it, assured me was called Hereheretue. In the obscurity of the light we had passed to the southward of it, and when I observed it, it bore about six miles to the north-east of us. Being anxious to examine the island, and ascertain if it possessed, as the divers asserted, a good entrance for boats, and plenty of shell in its lagoon, but no inhabitants, we put about and stood for it. On standing in pretty close, we were undeceived as to its being uninhabited, as we saw two naked figures on the beach, apparently watching and accompanying our progress along the land. When about a mile from the south-western extremity, there appeared so little surf breaking on the reef, that I had a boat lowered; and taking with me two of the kanakas from Rapa, a native of

Toobuai (a poor fellow I found in Valparaiso, destitute and abandoned), and two of the crew, we pulled for the spot where the two natives were now standing. Our approach was the signal for numerous other natives showing themselves, many being armed with spears. My kanakas became much agitated, and betrayed evident symptoms of fear, and to deter me from going further, assured me the men ashore were cannibals. They were all naked with the exception of the mara round their loins; and from their peculiar crouching stealthy gait, I was convinced they had seen little, if anything, of those who had held intercourse with civilised man. We had four muskets in the boat; but as there were but six of us, I thought it advisable to hold a parley before trusting myself amongst their spears. We halted within hailing distance, and interchanged halloes and signs of good will, and soon discovered that they spoke a dialect different from that known by our kanakas. After much entreaty by gesture on both sides for the one party to approach the other, I at length tore off a few yards of cloth, and rolling it up, threw it towards them, and then pulled away from the spot. Immediately six or seven plunged into the sea and swam for it; but as it had sunk, I was fearful they had lost it, and that the disappointment would probably irritate them. On reaching the shore, however, such numbers flocked around the adventurers, and such shouts of admiration were elicited, that I saw all was right. I repeated this experiment once or twice, each time diminishing the space between us, till the confidence thus created induced two of them to swim away from the others

and make signs for us to throw them cloth in exchange for their maras; but they would come no nearer to the boat.

Our own kanakas now became a little more assured, and rubbed up their memories. The island proved to be Faeatae, the identical island from which the fugitive native made his escape to Hao, as mentioned in my entry of May 6th, 1843. Wishing to establish friendly and confidential relations between us (to speak in diplomatic style), I resolved in my own person to give the first proof of confidence; and, much against the will and entreaty of my own fellows, I had the boat backed in and jumped ashore, carrying under my arm the remainder of the cloth, having previously ordered the boat to be pulled out of danger, and the men to be ready with their arms in case of treachery. I was immediately surrounded, many seizing hold of the cloth, whilst one grasped my jacket, another my shirt, a third was endeavouring to pick my pocket, and a fourth, in the attempt to deprive me of my cap, pulled it over my eyes. I shook myself free with an angry frown, and made signs of proceeding further inland, where I would share the cloth amongst them. Never did I see such savage eagerness: they all kept dragging at the cloth as I pushed my way to the spot I designed to reach, and trembled in the nervous anxiety to secure a portion; and as soon as I began to unroll it, five or six would dig at it with their shells and grasp it in several places: so to prevent its being haggled to useless shreds, I got out my pocket-knife, and opening the blade with my teeth,

continued severing it at a single cut, as they tore it from the roll. The knife seemed greatly to excite their wonder and desire; and when the cloth was exhausted, their wonder continuing unabated, and reading in their eyes a too curious desire to examine my personal vestments, fearing also, lest their cupidity should tempt them to strip me, and that my objection to this skinning process might cause me to lose my life, I threw up my arms with extended fingers, to intimate I had given all I had to give, and commenced retreating to the water's edge. Some of them made signs for me to accompany them to the north end of the island, and made me understand that there was a good entrance there for the boat; but such unsatiated curiosity glared in their eyes, that I thought enough had been done for the opening of a friendly communication, and I only sought how to regain the boat in safety without betraying symptoms of alarm. They did not attempt to oppose my departure, but greatly to my relief and satisfaction, no sooner had I hailed the boat, and they saw I was bent on going, than they all left me but two, who, taking either hand, steadied me as I made my way through the water over the crumbling and uneven coral reef, and carefully assisted me into the boat; and one of them, in bidding me farewell, forced his mara upon me.

The island lies nearly north and south, and is about ten miles long, by seven or eight broad. To judge by the chart, there are two other small islands off it; but this is not correct. I saw some fine mother-of-pearl shell, and the natives described the lagoon as being

full of it. Several clusters of cocoa-nut trees were grouped about, which struck me as being extraordinary in an uninhabited island when I first made it, on the 9th March, 1843. Its longitude on the west side we made to be 138° 50′ W., and its latitude 18° 46′ S., a position differing materially from that assigned it on the chart. The natives resemble the Bow Islanders, but have a wilder and more savage air. Sufficient evidence of the truth of the tale related by the one that escaped to Bow Island existed in the maimed and dismembered figures we saw: one poor fellow had lost an arm, another an eye, and others bore cicatrised marks of frightful gashes; and, supposing that most of the inhabitants were congregated to receive me, there cannot be a hundred left on the island. On getting into the boat, and finding myself once more safe, I felt desirous of astonishing the savages and convincing them of our power; but I believe I astonished myself rather more than I astonished them, for in firing off the muskets, causing the balls to ricochet along the water, one of them which happened to be double-charged, by the violence of its concussion knocked me backwards over the boat's thwart. My extraordinary disappearance, or the report, alarmed the natives; the women and children all withdrew, and the men, seizing their spears, which they had previously resigned to the women, watched our proceedings with the utmost jealousy. Nothing daunted by my clever exhibition, I again pulled towards them to renew our interlocution; but their suspicions had been raised, and they receded inland to a cautious distance; and,

as all our gesticulations and entreaties failed in removing their doubts, we returned to the vessel.

Between three and four o'clock P. M. we were close to Thrum Cap Island, called also Isle des Lanciers: it is but a small spot, and although we coasted within half a mile from the south to the north-west extreme, no lagoon was visible from the mast-head. Two cocoa-nut trees were all that could be seen above the low intricate scrub which appeared completely to cover the island. We saw no signs of man or his habitations; and its position, within a mile or two, is latitude 18° 33′ S., longitude 139° 11′ W., being on the chart relatively in error with Faeatae. I do not know its native name, but presume it to be one of the group mentioned by the Faeatae native.

June 23rd.—At noon we were abreast the entrance at Hao, and the captain and myself went ashore to greet our old friends and make them a few presents. The poor fellows seemed glad to see us, and were quite affected at our coming ashore merely to inquire after them. They told me the French "capitung" had been there, meaning the master of the "Jules de Blosville," and had only left the harbour two days previously. The Bow Islanders, on recognising him, refused to dive or to have any thing to do with him; but determined to try the lagoon, he went to an island about sixty miles north-west from Hao, called by the natives Tanueri, on the chart "Resolution Island" and "San Simon," and there engaged men. They say he had not much cause to rejoice in his scheme, for after a stay of several weeks he succeeded in procuring but few

shell, and those of bad quality. As the Bow Islanders are miserably poor, I think their refusal to dive for "capitung" indicated a keen sense of their appreciation of his treachery. They were extremely desirous to dive for me; and when I told them I had visited Uaiatai, they were loud in declaring their readiness to accompany me thither on a diving expedition. The Uaiatai native was about twenty miles up the lagoon, and my visit being short, I could not see him. We took a series of sights at the morai for our chronometer; and as it agreed to a mile in the longitude of the place, we think the longitude we have given for Uaiatai and Thrum Cap is not far from being accurate.

June 24th.—We did not quit Hao till five o'clock last evening, and proceeding by the chart, we expected to make the north end of the "Two Groups," called by the natives Marukan, well after daylight this morning. Our delay at Hao proved providential; for although the wind shifted, and we were close hauled, the mate in charge of the watch, just as day began to break, sang out, "Land on the lee bow." The vessel was put round, and on gaining the deck I found that we were less than two miles from the breakers. The group is not only out in latitude and longitude, but it is very inaccurately delineated, in Arrowsmith's chart of the Low Islands. It is there represented as two islands, surrounded by a reef, with numerous rocks dispersed upon the latter, and between the islands and the outer ledge of coral; when, in fact, there are two distinct and separate lagoon islands, bounded by narrow strips of sandy coral, in the same

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way as Hao Island, the passage between the two being sufficiently wide to beat a frigate through. It was the south island we were nearly scraping closer acquaintance with. For several miles on the east side of its southern boundary, the patches of vegetation are more connected than at Hao; but the herbage is of an uniform, dense, and stunted growth, crowning ridges of snow-white sand, and but for which I expect we should have been lost, as the gleaming of the sand was what attracted the mate's notice. From the mast-head we could discern that the lagoon was studied with coral knolls, and on the west end of the south extreme we noted a solitary cluster of cocoa-nut trees; but we could distinguish no opening to the lagoon, nor did we see any inhabitants. In the course of the day we passed over the position assigned on the chart to "Lostanges," known to the natives as Neingo Neingo. When I first saw this island (see entry March 5th, 1842) we made it after hard beating; and as we had no sights for a day or two previous, I assumed that the chart was correct, although we remarked at the time, that the position differed from our reckoning; but as we have found so many of the islands out in their longitude, and have always compared our watch with sights taken at the morai at Bow Island, the longitude of which was scientifically fixed by Captain Beechy, of H.M.S. Blossom, I have not the least doubt that the island seen by the master of the schooner (see entry May 11th, 1843), and given by him as being in 18° 46′ S. latitude, and longitude 141° 48′, is one and the same with Lostanges;

particularly as the latitude agrees with that on the chart, and the error in longitude would be relatively with that of other islands placed too far to the westward: and it would not surprise me if it was hereafter ascertained that the island seen by him in 19° 34′ S., and longitude 140° 30′ W., is none other than the "Litho Island" of the chart.

June 29th. — Went ashore at the weather-end of Chain Island, and was kindly greeted by many of my old divers; but Tiemu my interpreter at Angatan was no more: he had been ailing nearly ever since I had parted from him, and his dying instructions to his wife were, that if ever I came again to the island she was to make me a present of certain pigs, which the poor woman did. Tiemu had only been dead about three weeks; and his widow spoke of his kindness and affection to her, and of his good qualities as a friend, in such subdued and melancholy tones, as greatly to excite my sympathy. The natives generally wore a distrustful and mysterious air; they expressed great admiration at the articles I produced to purchase pigs, &c., but no pigs were forthcoming. After awhile the secret leaked out — they had heard of hostilities having commenced between the Tahitians and French (report goes that numbers have been killed on both sides), and they were hoarding all their resources for the purpose of buying muskets, ball, and powder. Not a pig could I obtain in barter, as I had no munitions of war to dispose of.

June 30th. — Visited the Lee settlement, but the same excitement prevailed; and from some English

residents I gathered more details. That collision has actually taken place between the French and natives there can be little doubt; but the statements are so conflicting, that my arrival in Tahiti will alone elucidate the truth.

July 1*st.* — Off Tahiti, but it is too late to attempt getting in to night.

July 2*nd.* — Dawn saw us nearly abreast of Point Venus, becalmed. We noticed the French steamer lying at anchor, and shortly after observed her get her steam up, and a great deal of smoke ashore. Block houses are scattered over the heights in various directions, and the occasional booming of a gun intimates any thing but quietude and security. To ascertain how matters were, the calm continuing, I lowered a boat and pulled for the Taonoa passage. On the way we fell in with — bad omen — a whale-boat bottom up. Whilst examining it, we fancied the steamer was making towards us, and pulled into the passage without further delay. Two or three small vessels were lying at anchor, and from one of them an acquaintance hailed me, advising me not to land or to approach too near any of the vessels: and I then learnt that most of the foreign residents had removed their valuables and taken refuge afloat; that the natives had collected in force, and that an attack was hourly expected to be made upon Tahiti. A skirmish had taken place the day previously, several killed on both sides, and one of the missionaries had been shot dead. No vessel, on coming into the harbour, was allowed to land any of her people or passengers without first reporting to

the Uranie frigate, under risk of being placed in quarantine for an indefinite period, and the chances of exposure to other pains and penalties. Returned to the schooner, picking up the capsized boat on the way; and as the calm continued, I accompanied the captain to the Uranie, where, having reported ourselves, we were allowed to go ashore. The place was in the highest state of excitement, almost every foreigner who had any thing to lose had deposited his valuables, for security, on board the shipping in the harbour; and at sun-down they used to abandon their dwellings and resort to the same refuge. The little ketch Basilisk was still protecting the queen, and affording what assistance she could to British subjects. But I shall now narrate the proceedings, as I gathered them from the missionaries and others, eye-witnesses of the various transactions during my absence.

After the seizure and confinement on board the French frigate of three chiefs, who were supposed from their attachment to the queen, to be prejudicial to the interests of the French, attempts were made to capture four other leading Tahitians, by name Fariahu, Taviri, Fanauve, Horoi, and a female of some influence. Horoi was staying at Taravau (the isthmus is so called), and a message was dispatched to him requiring him to come and acknowledge allegiance to the French governor. The old chief refused to comply with the mandate: he said, "that those who had sent to him were foreigners, and he knew them not; it was well for them to remain in peace where

they were, and not to trouble him, he was living upon the land of his fathers, which had descended to them from generation to generation, and he wished to reside in peace; he would not go to the French, and if the French came to disturb him, as he could not resist them, he would fly." Upon this a small vessel, with some soldiers, was sent to apprehend him: they did not succeed of course; but the natives began to murmur, and to whisper at this intrusion of armed men, on all parts of the island, — men armed for the avowed purpose of seizing their chiefs; and one evening a party of them observing some soldiers who were ashore on leave, taking *wanton liberties* with their women, one of the natives, who, it was stated, was excited with liquor at the time, snatched up a musket and fired upon them. This was like applying a match to the train: all the natives within hearing rushed at the sound to support each other; and in the impetuosity of the onslaught some of the soldiers were killed, and the rest were driven from the shore. This was the first commencement of actual hostilities on the part of the natives. They had borne with much in patience, and had suffered in silence at command of their chiefs, still hoping for the interference of Britain, or that the magnanimity and sense of justice in Louis Philippe would point out the wrong they were sustaining, and cause him to send them relief; but now, in an unguarded moment, they had turned upon their oppressors. They felt they had compromised themselves, and throughout the island at once prepared to act upon the offensive and defensive. Nor were the French back-

ward with their measures. The governor ordered the steamer to make a cruise round the island, and to fire indiscriminately upon the land. The casualties resulting from this measure was the death of an old woman and two children, and the maiming of two or three others. On the governor's being remonstrated with at the useless cruelty of such a course, his reply was, "that it was merely done for the purpose of intimidating the natives, for they were like dogs — give them a beating, and they will lie down at your feet." The sagacity of this remark was shown to be as profound as that made by Monsieur D'Aubigny, when he asserted that "Mr. Pritchard was the only daily mover and instigator of the disturbances of the natives."

A party of the French, protected by the guns of the steamer, then marched along the shore, setting fire to all the houses in the vicinity; and the missionaries at the various stations, taking alarm, abandoned them to their fate, leaving their own dwellings and effects exposed to plunder and destruction. The natives at Hidia, seeing that their teacher had fled from them, observed, "that it was better for them to take his property than leave it to be burnt or plundered by the French;" and accordingly they stripped his house of every thing, carrying the goods to the mountains. But, subsequently, when they discovered that the troops had passed on without committing the missionary residence to the flames, such of the property as had not been consumed or destroyed was brought back again. These and similar proceedings had by this time induced most of the natives to join the encamp-

ment in the mountains, but a party assembled near the isthmus had resolved to encamp themselves at a place called Mahina, and give the Frenchmen battle. Mahina lies to the eastward of Point Venus, which may be looked upon as the north point of Tahiti, and is a small plain facing the sea, walled in by mountains in the rear, open to the line of coast trending easterly, but protected on the Point Venus side by conically shaped hills. The poor fellows dug trenches, and threw up sand-banks to protect them from the shot and shell of their powerful adversary; but they overlooked the possibility of the hills to their west being escaladed with field-pieces, which would entirely command their position, and neglected providing against surprise from this quarter. The French landed under the guns of the frigate, which continued to pour grape-shot and shell amongst the natives, who, nothing daunted by these terrific engines of destruction, assailed their foes with great bravery; and it is asserted that some without arms rushed madly on the attacking force, and succeeded in wresting the bayonets from their muskets, and with their own weapons causing several to bite the dust. If the natives, instead of hastening to meet the French, had waited to receive them on the plain, a different termination would have perhaps been given to the day; for as the French retreated from the impetuosity of their assault, the shot and shell from the frigate came to their aid, causing the natives in their turn to retreat; but when they sought the shelter of their trenches, they found the hills to their left in possession of the enemy, who commenced

playing upon them with field-pieces. Under these circumstances they abandoned their defences and took to the bush, calling upon the French to follow; but they, with true appreciation of the politeness, declined the invitation. Nothing was gained by this victory, but a useless waste of blood on both sides, as the French could not follow it up, and no single good was achieved unless they had in view the extermination of the natives; but even with this end in contemplation they paid dear for its attainment, as they lost in the engagement many more lives than they contrived to destroy. The native loss ascertained from themselves was sixty-nine killed on the field (including the wounded that were mercilessly bayoneted in the trenches from their inability to fly), and one who subsequently died from his wounds. The French they assert lost more than double this number, but they only confess to twenty-five killed and fifty-four wounded: be that as it may, a large launch load of the dead, to save burial, was carried out to sea and sunk; but after a day or two the bodies escaped from their confinement, and the shore became strewed with putrescent corpses. Finding it idle to think of exchanging musket balls for grape, and canister shot, and shells, the natives withdrew to the mountains. But I must not omit to notice the feats of daring to which their exigency drove them. Being badly off for powder, and discovering the secret of the shells' explosion, they used to watch for their alighting, when they fearlessly seized them and cut off the fusees; and they assert they are better off for ammunition now than they were before the fight." The

shells themselves, directed against them with a far less hospitable intent, they have converted into drinking-cups. Their intrepidity and daring must have mightily undeceived the French, as, previous to this encounter, an official was heard to declare, "give him fifty men and he'd march through Tahiti." Penetrating observer! — the forbearance and long-suffering of the simple and kind-hearted natives were looked upon as currish fear; but the delusion is for ever dissipated, as the timid Tahitians have shown, that as to mere manhood, they are more than a match for the best and bravest of the French.

The French, after this engagement, were kept in continual excitement, and their steamer constantly on the move; and the day preceding that of my arrival, a party of soldiers, under command of the governor himself, were marched to Point Venus, intelligence having been given by a renegade native that his countrymen were assembling in that quarter. The governor proceeded to the house of the Rev. Mr. M'Kean, the missionary station beyond Point Venus, and remained some time conversing with him and another of the missionaries who happened to be present, endeavouring to persuade them to take charge of a drunken French soldier, who could neither walk nor keep seat on horseback. A boat was in readiness to convey the reverend gentlemen to Papeeti, and the governor urged them to take his man with them, saying, "he knew that the natives would kill him if he was left behind, and he would be no trouble to them, as he was so drunk he would lie in the bottom of the boat like a log." Induced by

these representations, the missionaries gave their consent, and the drunken man was brought and laid down inside the fence of their premises. The noise of firing being heard, the governor mounted his horse to join his party; but ere doing so, he rode to the fence and again called out to Mr. M'Kean, repeating his injunctions respecting the care of his man. With eager politeness Mr. M'Kean hastened to the end of his verandah, and raised his hat in complying acknowledgment; and as the governor rode off, and Mr. M'Kean was in the act of re-entering his house, a musket ball struck him at the back of his head, behind the ear, and the unfortunate gentleman fell, never to rise again. He breathed heavily for six or seven minutes and expired without uttering a syllable: the ball did not pass through the head, but lodged below the socket of the eye. This lamentable event was supposed to have been occasioned through the apprehensive policy of the French, for the commanding officers, meeting no opposition, yet fearing an ambuscade, ordered their men, as they advanced, to fire right and left into the guava bushes. The noise being heard by two old men, who were prevented by their infirmities from joining the encampment, but who conceived that their countrymen were suddenly attacked, they speedily collected between eighty and ninety boys and young men, not of age to be termed warriors, and with twenty-one muskets and rude weapons hastily assumed for the moment, they attacked and routed the governor's party of 120 men, well equipped and appointed, leaving several of them dead on the ground. It is not known from which party the shot came that slew Mr. M'Kean, but as he was

in a line with the advancing troops, it is conjectured that it was fired by a native, although no one grieves more for the unhappy occurrence than the natives. That night the house of the slain gentleman was converted into an hospital and barracks for the French soldiery; and, the usual consequences attendant on military occupation followed, in the destruction of the live stock on the premises, and the appropriation of any convenient articles of property.

It was the morning after this sad event that I entered the harbour; and I found that my partner, with several of the missionary residents and others, had gone in the boat of the ketch Basilisk to pay the last tribute of respect in their power to offer to the deceased. Shrouded in its bloody vestments, the body was committed to the dust; and as the party returned from their melancholy task, I had the unspeakable mortification and surprise at beholding them, on their reaching the Basilisk, put into quarantine, and the yellow flag, by a mandate from the officer commanding the French frigate Uranie, run up to mast-head of the ketch. My amazement was only exceeded by my indignation. What indignity will be offered next? thought I; and as I had already undergone a decent spell on board ship, I did not wish to repeat the dose by venturing to the ketch; but I could not be restrained from jumping into a canoe, and pulling to within speaking distance, to learn the cause of this most extraordinary proceeding. I could obtain no information at the time, the singular position all on board were placed in having created a complete revulsion of feeling; and the prisoners

crowding the decks of the little vessel amidst convulsions of laughter did nothing but banter me, daring me to come on board, and shouting at the tops of their lungs, "Rule Britannia," giving particular emphasis to—

"For Britons, never, never, never, shall be slaves!"

The scene was ludicrous enough, though mortifying; and I was constrained to join both in the song and the laughter. This disgraceful state of things did not long continue, as, on the return of the governor in the steamer, he immediately, and without communication from the frigate, despatched the commander of the steamer to remove the quarantine, and to say, "that those ladies and gentlemen who had been confined to the vessel were at liberty to go ashore;" plainly showing, that he, at all events, did not approve of this attempt to cast contempt upon the British flag when that flag was left defenceless. On the prisoners being liberated, I was informed that an Englishman who had been present at the funeral entered a boat with the intention of returning to Moorea, and was about leaving by the Taonoa passage; but seeing a boat approaching with Belgian colours flying, which he mistook for French, and per consequence becoming jealous of her intentions, he altered his course and shaped it for Papecti. In passing the Basilisk her commander hailed him, and learning his purpose, he recommended him to avoid getting into trouble by first reporting himself to the Uranie; and for thus endeavouring to preserve peace and good will, he had the humiliation

of submitting to orders on board his own ship from a commander under the French flag—an event not of common occurrence to our navy I believe.

From this date to the 12th the French were kept in constant excitement and alarm: the drum was continually beating to arms, and the musket was the companion of all engaged in the French interests; the soldiers were harassed off their legs, and it was apparent that, notwithstanding their frigates and their steamer, the natives had it in their power so to fatigue and wear them out, that with any one to guide or direct them, they could render French possession so ticklish and unprofitable, that evacuation would not only be a preferable alternative, but a step to be rejoiced at. Rumours of an attack would be brought from Port Venus, and scarcely had the troops marched half way, when they would be countermanded, and ordered to repel an irruption of the natives from Puanania, a place miles in an opposite direction. Night and day there was no peace for them; and from their jaded and exhausted condition, a few well organised and resolute men could easily have cut them to pieces. On one occasion, when the governor had been with the steamer to fire on the insurgents, as he calls them, at Papenoo (an encampment of natives nine or ten miles to the eastward of Port Venus), and the troops that had gone by land were marched back again, they had the satisfaction of seeing the houses and chapel of the Romish priests on fire, and, instead of taking the rest they so much needed, of being ordered to a fresh scene of attack. They were directed to "fall in"

rank and file in front of our house, and many of them were so completely exhausted that they rapped their own heads with their muskets in going through the evolution of shouldering them.

One cannot but sympathise and feel for the poor fellows, who do but obey their superiors' orders. Pomare entreats her people to remain tranquil: this damps their energies in a measure; otherwise, were they to persist in the game of finding the troops incessant occupation, there is little doubt it would incite them to mutiny, as they are worn out with fatigue and bad living, and it is not a war from which they can hope to derive much honour or promotion. A few days after the burning of the priests' houses, a party of natives came over the hills from Puanania; and under the guns of the frigate and the battery ashore, one of them came down to the beach with the Tahitian standard, and waved defiance. A gun was discharged at him from the frigate, and two or three were discharged at him from the battery; still he continued to wave the flag, and point with his hand in the direction of the hills. Subsequently he planted the flag upon the beach, and deliberately rejoined his companions. It is by no means a pleasant subject of reflection, that this gallant and confiding people are abandoned to the chances of annihilation by superior force and strategy.

July 12th.—This has been a day of qualified rejoicing for Queen Pomare. H.M.S. Carysfort arrived off the harbour, and her captain, Lord George Paulet, entered in his boat: he brought the news

that Louis Philippe did not recognise the seizure of Tahiti, and wished merely to preserve the protectorate. No official intelligence to this effect had reached the governor; and after several interviews with Lord Paulet, it was agreed that Pomare should be allowed to go to one of the Leeward Islands, there to remain unmolested until definite instructions arrived from Europe. Letters were dismissed by Pomare to her various chiefs, apprising them of these particulars, and beseeching them to remain in peace till affairs were determined on, for good or evil. The French looked rather astounded at this unexpected *dénouement*; and the governor, with a shrug and a smile, remarked, that he was only placed in a similar position to that formerly occupied by Lord Paulet with relation to the Sandwich Islands: but his lordship observed, and with justice, that their situations would not bear comparison, as the cession of the Sandwich Islands to his lordship, was the voluntary act of the king, and made with the full understanding that the act was a conditional one, subject to the approval or disapproval of his own sovereign; whereas Governor Bruat, on his own authority, had proceeded ruthlessly to take violent possession, not only of the island, but of the queen's houses and private property, ejecting her therefrom, and enforcing his authority by bloodshed and slaughter. Commander Hunt, of the Basilisk, was ordered to get his vessel ready to bear Pomare and her suite on board the Carysfort, it not being Lord Paulet's intention to let the Carysfort enter the harbour, although determined that she should

have the gratification of carrying Pomare once more to some spot where she could remain without being exposed to dread or insult.

July 14th. — The gallant little Basilisk put to sea, to deliver up the royal freight of which she had had custody for nearly six months. Pomare was considerably affected at parting with her protectors, but much of her feeling must naturally have been absorbed in the delightful idea of being again free to walk the earth. Pomare's fortunes are another instance of the justness of the observation. "When things are at the worst, they sometimes mend." She had resisted all the entreaties and specious offers of the French to induce her to trust herself to their honour, determining to be *aut Cæsar aut nullus;* but she began to get ill and to despair at her long confinement, and the want of diet prepared in native style; yet, withal, she never for a moment contemplated compromising her independent rights by yielding to the wishes of her invaders. The cruel treatment she had suffered made her wary of putting faith even in their most solemnly plighted word. Only a day or two previous to the arrival of Lord Paulet she had been soliciting me to take her in the schooner to one of the neighbouring islands. She mentioned Maitea or Toobuai; but on telling her she was interdicted from setting foot on any of her own islands, or on the islands of the Society group, she proposed Rapa. But when I described its insignificant size and rugged nature, the coldness and humidity of its climate, and mentioned its products—that it was without cocoa-nuts, bananas,

&c. — she at once deprecated the idea of going to any country that was without cocoa-nuts. I mentioned her request to Commander Hunt, and his opinion coincided with mine — that as the poor persecuted queen had suffered thus far, she should struggle on a little longer, and bide the result in her own dominions, whilst receiving the protection of that flag she had placed herself under.

July 16th. — A passport having been obtained from the governor, to-day I sailed in a small schooner to collect the effects from the houses abandoned by the missionaries. It was dark when we beat our way into the Tautira passage at the east end of the island, and the vessel glided gently on to the soft sand and anchored herself. I hailed a canoe to set me ashore — one came off; but on landing, I found a native with a musket, and fully accoutred, ready to receive me. He challenged me as to whether I was French or English; I laughed and gave my name. Not recognising it, he shook his head, and seemed doubtful as to the propriety of allowing me to pass. Many other armed natives now came crowding down, with some of whom I was familiar; they immediately shouted who I was, and greeted me with much energy. The missionaries' property at this station remained undisturbed, and the natives expressed their regret that I was going to remove it; they looked upon my so doing as a fatal omen of their prospects. "Why," they ask, "will the missionaries leave us, if there is any hope of the French going away." I did my best to cheer them, but could not say much to the purpose,

appearances being so opposed to the chance of any alteration favouring their wishes.

Having sent all the goods on board, we made sail for Hidia, to collect such of the property as had been returned to the missionary's house, who, as before mentioned, had fled affrighted at the approach of the French, whose advent was announced by the crashing of shot, and the burning of houses. It was early in the afternoon on our reaching the anchorage at Hidia, consequently there was no mistaking us for French; yet the natives were in readiness, prepared for opposition or flight: their bundles were all made up and slung over their loaded muskets, which were stuck in the thatch of their houses. They told me, if an overpowering force made its appearance, their intention was to burn down their houses, take a farewell shot at the invaders, and retreat to the mountains. I passed a night with them; and it was amusing, but at the same time piteous, to listen to their simple relations of the various engagements they had been in with the French. Several of them showed me their wounds, some not yet cicatrised. They had quitted their domestic and field labours to join in opposing the French; but when the latter had retreated, or passed on, they again resumed the employments which their coming had interrupted. Nothing that can be stated would offer a more glaring proof of the unprovoked nature of these hostilities.

July 27th. — Between forty and fifty natives were waiting at Papeeti for me—some of Pomare's adherents, whom she had requested me to carry to Borabora when I sailed for the Leeward Islands.

A good deal of trouble and annoyance was given us before they were allowed to take their departure, as they had to pass the inspection of the Belgian incendiary, the prime mover and instigator of all the wrongs inflicted upon the natives, and who, from being Consul de France, and Commissioner Royal, is now elevated to the high and honourable office of "*Director of Native Police.*" At length, all scruples being satisfied, we took our departure, and arrived, *July* 28*th*, at Borabora. Pomare was not there. In Tahiti it was generally believed that Borabora was to be her destination; but the queen having learnt that Tapoa was at Raiatea, she induced Lord Paulet to land her there. The desolating effects of the gale were as much apparent as when I last parted from Borabora; the natives have no heart for anything, the rumours of French proceedings destroying every other desire but that of securing powder, shot, and munitions of war; and there was a recklessness in their manner, as they told me that the true reason why Pomare did not come to Borabora was, because there was no part of that island she could fly to that the French could not reach with shot and shell fired from the guns of the frigate, and that the mountains and valleys of Raiatea afforded much better shelter and protection. I staid a day at Borabora, to allow the women and children to recover from their sea-sickness, and then we beat our way into Huaru, the western passage of Raiatea.

August 1*st*. —The queen being at Uturoa, the settlement on the opposite side of the island, I took

a boat and paid her a visit. She appeared more cheerful and contented, and spoke in warm terms of the kindness and sympathy of Lord Paulet. We were unfortunate in missing the Carysfort, as she sailed for the Sandwich Islands the day we entered Raiatea; we saw her in the distance standing with all sail set to the northward. Tapoa and his wife were hearty as ever, and gavé me the same cordial welcome, preparing a native banquet, and inviting me to meet Pomare and her husband. Much kindness was exhibited to Pomare; but she being a refugee, the prestige of her presence is somewhat diminished; and the close proximity of the dreaded French, exciting apprehensions shared in by all the natives, high and low, has destroyed in a great measure the forms and observances used in former and happier times. The common danger in which they are all involved may have drawn them closer together in the bonds of affection, but it has rendered them less deferential in manner, and more careless with regard to ceremony in their intercourse with their chiefs. I slept at Pomare's house, and the following morning the queen invited herself to pass the day on board the schooner with me. Her mind was any thing but at ease respecting the security of her person; she still dreaded seizure by the French, and begged from me every thing I possessed in the shape of weapons of defence. She does not appear too sanguine in her hope of being restored to her own islands.

CHAP. III.

Pass the Rubicon.—Dissuade the Natives from building useless Forts.—Go to Huaheine.—A Chant of the Huaheine Girls.—News from Tahiti.—Account of the French Steamer's Movements, and the Risk she ran of being captured.—Attempt of the French to obtain an Interview with Pomare.—Effects of the Steamer's Mission to Borabora.—A Visit from Tapoa.—Return to Tahiti.—Accounts from Sydney and New Zealand.—Letters from Queen Pomare.—Arrival of the French Admiral.—Another Comet.—Reflections.—The French Steamer goes on a last Mission to the Queen.—The Queen deposed for ever.—A Regent appointed, but no Alteration in the Posture of Affairs.—Trade with the Leeward Islands restricted to Vessels wearing the Flag of France.—Rumours.—D'Aubigny sails for France.—The United States Brig Perry salutes the Protectorate Flag, &c.—Intercourse with Raiatea prohibited.—Sir Thomas Thomson arrives in the Talbot, and is frivolously exposed to much Indignity.—The Treatment of the English under French Domination compared with the Treatment of the French under Tahitian Rule.—A Letter from Queen Pomare, and the Motive for introducing it.

"She was a thing of life and light,
That seen, became a part of sight;
And rose where'er I turn'd mine eye,
The morning star of memory."

"My dark-hair'd girl, thou hast promis'd me,
And I my faith have pledg'd to thee;
And I would not give for the crown of an earl,
The pride of being lov'd by my dark-hair'd girl."

August 7th.—An eventful epoch for me. Passed the Rubicon, and entered this day into married life

with Mary, the third daughter of Captain Hunter. The young lady was born in Tahiti, and is the adopted daughter of one of its highest chiefs; thus I have another inducement to attach me to its soil.

The Raiatearians, in their desire to prevent the possibility of their island being taken from them, commenced building a fort on a flat near the entrance to the harbour at Uturoa. Any frigate, in the course of an hour, could shell out its occupants, and blow it to atoms. Not liking to see the poor fellows make such a bootless waste of time and means, we pointed out to them the folly of such a work, and showed them how incapable they were, with their ineffectual means, to defend themselves against the entrance of any ships of war to their harbours: our arguments were so convincing, that they abandoned their operations. But a few days after my marriage, a fleet of canoes and boats came to us, and the leaders requested Captain Hunter and myself to accompany them in search of a place of security, where they might seek refuge in case of an invasion, observing, "that as by our representations we had prevented their going on with the works at Uturoa, the least we could do would be to aid them in selecting a spot to which they might resort, and be capable of defending." We did not exactly see the force of this reasoning, but there being no objections to our rendering them the benefit of any knowledge we might possess, we consented to go with them. After an examination of various bights and inlets, we fixed upon a place called Vaiaao, in the

south-west part of the island, as being, in every respect, the best adapted for their wants. It is shut in by inaccessible mountains on every side but that facing the sea, can only be approached by boats through a long, shallow, and tortuous passage, and is beyond the reach of any destructive fire from shipping. The mountains enclose vales of considerable extent, abundantly supplied with those spontaneous productions which form the staple diet of the natives; so that if they could successfully maintain the *pass*, which with some labour can be rendered impregnable, they would run no risk of being reduced by starvation. Having made them sensible of these advantages, we returned to Huaru.

August 19th.—Left Raiatea for Huaheine, where, after I had negotiated the business that led me there, I was kept wind-bound for several days. I believe I have noticed the sweet inflection of the natives' voices, and the passion they have for melodious combinations. It is a great treat on moonlight nights to listen to them chanting beneath the umbrageous grove; the women taking the first part, the men the second. I was so much struck with the sweetness of one of their chants the other evening, that in order to retain it in my memory I composed the following.

SONG.

Tune—A Chant of the Huaheine Girls.

One summer's night the moon shone bright,
As forth I wander'd to the grove,
To plight my troth, my gage, and oath,
To the girl I love.

The skies were clear, no clouds were near
To overcast the scene; and when,
With warmth, I press'd her to my breast,
I vow'd to love as then.

As roses blush, as starts the thrush
When footsteps rude disturb its song,
So blush'd the maid, who, trembling, said,
"She hop'd no wrong."

I vow'd by this — then snatch'd a kiss,
And once more folded to my breast
The maid whose truth enthrall'd my youth;
Loveliest, and best.

One holy vow has bound us now,
And thou art mine, for ever mine;
The dear lov'd wife, to hold for life,
And scarce with life resign.*

Not satisfied with the above words, I was desirous of procuring the original, and took a person well skilled in the language to write them down for me; when, to my great surprise, I discovered that both the words and the air were a beautiful modulation of our sailors' capstan song of "Round the corner, Sally!"

The same jealous distrust of the French prevails here, although the natives pertinently inquire, "Why,

* See the "Bride of Abydos." In my admiration of that beautiful poem, I have, unconsciously, paraphrased four lines of Selim's address to Zuleika:

"Now thou art mine, for ever mine,
With life to keep, and scarce with life resign;
Now thou art mine, that sacred oath,
Though sworn by one, hath bound us both."

if Pomare has offended the French, should they trouble us? Our islands are independent of Pomare's rule, and as we are innocent of any offence, why should we be made partakers in her punishment?" Their excitement was increased to a feverish pitch on the French steamer being recognised standing over to Raiatea. Various conjectures are afloat as to what her object can be. The natives have but one idea — they firmly believe she has gone to seize Queen Pomare. The consternation had not ceased when the brig taken up to convey the missionaries (who are leaving for England) to Valparaiso entered the harbour. She confirmed a report that the consul general for the islands in the Pacific had arrived at Tahiti in the frigate Thalia, but the governor would not recognise him as consul for Tahiti; and we also learnt that the French had broken their treaty of amnesty with the natives, by the seizure of a boat, and the detention of her people as prisoners: and it is reported that their feelings were so outraged by this breach of faith, that 500 resolute fellows, well armed, had resolved, at all hazards, on making a descent upon the settlement; but owing to the representations of the captain of the Thalia, in an interview he held with the governor, the natives, with their boat, were enfranchised; and for this time the threatened attack is averted. The brig, having taken her last departure for Moorea, knew nothing of the movements of the steamer.

August 31*st.* — A small schooner arrived from Tahiti, strengthening what had been already confirmed, and bringing me a letter, wherein I was ap-

prised that Governor Bruat intended making an example of me. Now, as the authorities had shown that they were not scrupulous in exercising the power they possessed, and fearing lest I might be dealt with after the fashion of Mr. Pritchard, before I had the opportunity of introducing my wife to her home, I placed the poor girl under the protection of the worthy old missionary of Huaheine and his wife, who were going to Raiatea in the brig, and, without loss of time, got the vessel under weigh to beat to Tahiti, and meet the charges that might be exhibited against me. The wind, however, proved more powerful than my will, and after beating twenty-four hours, and losing ground, we were reduced to close-reefed topsails. This being worse than useless, I directed them to run to Raiatea again, before we were too far to leeward. We reached it

September 2nd. —It was too true, the steamer had been after Pomare; but with what object is not known, as Pomare, immediately upon its appearance, fled to Vaiaao. A boat from the steamer went in pursuit of her, and had it continued its pursuit, must have come up with her, as her boat was so laden, the men had not room to use their oars, and the wind was so light that the sails scarcely served to propel it through the water. The natives, as if from curiosity, flocked off to see the steamer, until such numbers were assembled on board, that by a sudden impulse they conceived the idea of taking her, and sent a messenger to Tamatoa their king to know if they should do so. Tamatoa, with sagacity I did not give him credit for, as he is an indo-

lent sensual fellow, despatched the messenger back with orders for them to remain quiet, "as he did not wish to be the first to commence aggressions, and thus furnish the French with a pretext for assailing them." There is little doubt, from the unguarded nature of the vessel, that the attempt would have succeeded: the natives had planned to place, in a careless way, two stout fellows to every man on board, whom they were to engage in friendly conversation; and at the signal from Tamatoa they were to seize and bind them, and after plundering the vessel, they were to burn and scuttle her. The Raiatearians have been noted for capturing well manned vessels in this bloodless way, and it was fortunate for them that Tamatoa resisted the temptation.

The French have not hoisted their flag on any of the Society Isles, nor did they venture on this occasion to display the tricolor as token of possession; nevertheless, a party had the hardihood or effrontery to land and commence a survey, at the missionary settlement (Uturoa), as if for the purpose of planning a fortification: probably it is as well that the idle gasconading took place under the eyes of the missionaries, or they might have been roughly handled. Shortly after, when a boat with some officers was sent to seek an interview with Pomare, it was stopped, and forbidden to proceed further. On the approach of the boat, a single man in a canoe was directed to put off to them and desire them "to return from whence they came, as they were not wanted there." Disregarding what he said, the party in the boat

pulled for the shore. Tamatoa then stepped forward and hailed them.

"Don't come ashore," said he, "or you'll cut your feet with the oyster-shells" (a figurative way of telling them they would come to harm, as no oysters were ever seen there).

In defiance of this warning, they grounded the boat, which was instantly surrounded and seized. "Search the boat," said Tamatoa, "and see if it contains muskets or powder or any arms; if it does, we will take care of them for you, and return them when peace is certified between us."

Search was made, but no arms were detected. The purport of their visit was next inquired into. They came to bring a letter to Queen Pomare. "Pomare is not here; who told you she was?"

"The missionaries at Uturoa."

"Well, we tell you she is not; she may be at Tahaa, at Borabora, any where; we don't know where she is."

"Will you receive the letter for her?"

"What's the use? Pomare is not here, and there is no use in your leaving the letter:" and, foiled in accomplishing their mission, the party had to return to the steamer again. Subsequently, a native was bribed to convey some letters to Pomare from the French, for which he narrowly escaped having his head cut off. I don't know what reception the letters met with, but I question much if Pomare will acknowledge them. From Raiatea the steamer went to Borabora, after vain endeavours to procure an interview with Tapoa.

September 6th.—Received a visit from Tapoa, who told us that on the appearance of the steamer at Borabora, Omai, the former king, and most of the inhabitants, took to the mountains. The French caused it to be made known that they had not arrived with any hostile purpose; and at a small gathering on the beach, the natives were desired "not to be alarmed, but to continue their planting and their building, for the French did not come there to do them any injury, but to *protect* them from being injured by others." At this monstrous assertion, the natives turned upon their heel; nor did they deign to notice the evolutions of the steamer, which sought to make an impressive display by steaming several times in and out the various bights in the harbour. Subsequently she bore for Huaheine.

The appearance of the steamer and the pursuit of Pomare had evidently induced the necessity of action in the minds of the natives; and a message was again brought us from Pomare, Tapoa, and Tamatoa, urging us to go once more to Vaiaao and aid them in selecting the most judicious spot for the erection of defences. We complied with their wishes, and gave them instructions to the best of our abilities; and if they carry out the work, the pass will be impregnable, even should ammunition fail them; but I incline to the opinion that the work will be too much for the constancy and persevering industry of the natives. They will work with great energy on the immediate pressure of danger, but let it pass, and the cause of apprehension be removed to a more distant or indefinite period, they become careless, their eye

is averted from the future, and they let sufficient for the day serve. At this moment no one is troubling them, no hostile force is in sight, and the thunder of big guns is not booming in their ears; and without some such exciting causes actually goading them to the task, I question if they will display the assiduity necessary for the accomplishment of their designs. The chiefs have not *now* the commanding influence over the people possessed by the chiefs of the heathen times. Pomare was looking pallid with anxiety; she had received letters from Consul-General Miller, and from Captain Hope, of the Thalia. "They were very good," she said; but they had failed to re-assure her, and her mind was evidently but ill at ease. We left the camp as night was approaching, having a long intricate pull through the reefs before us. The encampment is romantically situated in a mountain gorge, surrounded by tall forest trees and sweet-scented flowering shrubs; a stream ripples its murmuring course through it, winding in convolutions like a snake, sometimes hidden from the eye by overhanging shrubs, at others glancing in the sunlight like gushing silver: this secluded and beautiful spot being shut in by mountains rising in majestic grandeur close around it. The extensive valleys in the bosom of these mountains are only accessible from the encampment. The natives have already erected a considerable number of temporary houses, and thrown rustic bridges across the stream; but their zeal, no danger at hand, is of so evanescent a nature, I doubt if they will carry out the fortifications. Tapoa accompanied us to Huaru: he is the

most sensible of the chiefs, and any thing uttered by him is received with marked attention by the natives at all the Society Isles. He abstains from returning to Borabora at present, as he does not wish to have speech with the French; for he wisely says, "if he neither speaks nor writes, he cannot commit himself."

September 7th. — The wind favouring us a point or two, this afternoon I made a fresh start for Tahiti; taking my wife with me, and her mother, as the best consoling guardian if any thing is to happen to me.

September 10th. — Dropped anchor at Papeeti, and thinking it best to "beard my fate," I accompanied the captain on board the Uranie. Whilst the captain was engaged making his official report, I continued pacing the quarterdeck, unnoticed, and we came away without a word having passed of any charge against me. I thought this strange; but as certainty is at all times better than doubt, I made my way to Monsieur D'Aubigny, the governor-particular, to have this doubt resolved. My unexpected presence took him by surprise, which was not lessened when I announced the motive that led to the intrusion.

"Sir," said he, "it is a great pity that people pay any attention to tales that are going about; sir, I would advise you to listen to nothing but what you have from me; sir, you will receive a letter." Monsieur D'Aubigny does not speak English with facility; and not being desirous of prolonging the interview, I tendered my salutations, satisfied in this spect, *that the rumour was not groundless;* but in what I have committed myself, I have yet to learn.

The second day after the above entry, I was cited to appear before the judge of peace. On attending at the hour notified in the summons, I was apprised that I had been sent for agreeably to the instructions of the governor, to be censured and admonished; and the judge, turning to a paper he held in his hand, commenced translating it for my benefit. Opposition and dislike to the government on my part were more than hinted at, and I was accused of having sold powder to the natives at Tautira when I was there on business for the missionaries. The judge was directed to inform me, which he did in a voice of conscious dignity and power, that a "procès verbal" had been issued against me, but that the governor, in his great clemency, had ordered it to be quashed; believing at the same time in my guilt, but in the hope that his mercy would have a good effect, and deter me and others from committing similar acts. The proceedings were stayed, and I was now advised of this clemency, and admonished against future misconduct, as in case of renewed offence, my punishment would be summary. I was told that I had subjected myself to trial by a court-martial, composed of military and naval officers, who were relieved from all responsibility from the consequence of their verdict; and if in their opinion I was considered guilty, I might be conducted from the court to military execution. So soon as the indignation which choked me, allowed me to find breath and utterance, I denied having sold or been privy to the sale of powder at Tautira; I laughed at the governor's clemency,

requested that I might be put upon my trial, and expressed my readiness to abide the consequences, *even if they led to the death I was threatened with;* assuring the judge, I was well convinced, that my country would never suffer its children to be causelessly murdered in cold blood, without exacting a rigorous account for the same. The judge was perfectly astounded, and declined conveying any answer to the governor, as he said "*that* was no part of his instructions;" and he commenced, in a paternal way, to give me hints for my future guidance. This exceeded the bounds of my endurance, and I wished him good morning.

September 14*th.*—My partner sailed for Valparaiso, leaving me to enjoy a spell ashore with my wife.

September 17*th.*—The brig Diana arrived from Sydney, and reports the colony in a state of bankruptcy, failures of the largest houses being of daily occurrence. "It is not for me to reveal the secrets of the banking house," as Hamlet's father's ghost would have said, had he been confined in one; but any one versed in the affairs of the colony must have foreseen years ago, that sooner or later this result must ensue. The mutual-accommodation system of "Three months after date, I promise to pay," with the facilities offered for the discounting of these "promises," having induced over-trading and speculations, no matter how vague or wild, or how inexperienced the parties entering into them, or how blind to the day of reckoning that must come. It is true the colony has advanced to a wonderful extent,

surpassing any thing probably in the annals of time; but the colony's gain has been the British merchant's loss. Oh, John Bull! John Bull! thou hast ever betrayed sturdy limbs, and a strong back to support the wild vagaries of thine infant offspring, and how hast thou been treated, John? Thy children even now deny the benefits of thy fostering care, although they are existing upon thy vitals. Sometimes I fear me, John, thy numerous family would be glad to see thee expire in neglected old age.

The brig touched at New Zealand on her way here; the accounts from that country are not of a more cheering character. The New Zealanders are losing their awe of the whites, and giving the settlers no little trouble.

"Encampment on Raiatea, October 12th, 1844.

"To Commodore Bruat, &c.

"I have been informed that the king of the French and his wise counsellors have disapproved of the proceeding of Du Petit Thouars in seizing my government, my houses, and my land, because my personal flag did not please him.

"The great king of the French and his wise counsellors have also said, that Du Petit Thouars acted without being commanded, and with injustice and without wisdom, and they have commanded you to restore my government to me.

"I thought, and wise men also thought, that you would regard the commands of your master, and restore quickly to me my flag, my houses, and my land.

"But you have not done so; you still persist in building barracks and erecting forts upon my land, and my people's land; and you interfere with my people in appointing judges and other officers, which you have no right to do.

"I write this to you, that you may know I throw all the evil of these things upon you, and to make known to you that, until you restore to me my flag, my land, and my property, and rehoist the proper flag, agreeably to the command of your king, I can place no confidence in what you say, or even listen to you.

"And now may you be kept and saved by the true God.

(Signed) "POMARE."

The above letter *may have had* an influential effect; the works at some of the fortifications having been suspended, and others not having been proceeded with so briskly of late; but the tricolor still usurps possession, and has now assumed intention of shortly spreading its folds over a more extended range. We had conditionally agreed to purchase the Diana brig in conjunction with Captain Hunter of Raiatea; but when the owner went to clear out for that port, he was told *he would not be permitted to go to Raiatea.* To save vain talk and useless correspondence, he cleared out for New Zealand; and in a few days I received a letter from him, dated in Raiatea, acquainting me that he had closed the contract of sale, Captain Hunter having fallen in with our views. I hastened to the governor, telling

him we had purchased the vessel, and as she was of sufficient burthen to carry timber, we were ready to sign a contract containing certain provisions to supply the government with that article. The contract was drawn out, signed, and no questions asked.

December 22nd. — Admiral Hamelin, of the French frigate Virginie, arrived, and it is said, with orders to restore the protectorate.

December 26th. — What does this portend? — to-night another comet was visible in the south point of the heavens. It is not so large nor so bright, neither has it such a blazing tail, as the one first noticed by me on the 5th March, 1843; it is more nebulous in its character, but nucleus and tail are distinctly recognisable. Do these wandering orbs affect the atmophere of our globe, rendering us bipeds more hostile and rabid? In "olden times" they were supposed to be the precursors of "bloody wars." The Tahitians view these appearances with superstitious dread.

January 3rd, 1845. — The French steamer has been despatched to Raiatea on a last mission (so goes report) to induce the queen to return to Tahiti; and to-day the Diana brig came in without occasioning any observation from the authorities.

January 8th. — The steamer returned from Raiatea. She reports the queen's flight to the mountain encampment, on the vessel being noticed in the offing, and her absolute refusal to be seen by any of the French officers, or to hold any correspondence with them. She will listen to no treaty, and accept nothing but an unconditional surrender of her rights; which, she is firmly persuaded, it is the true intention

of Louis Philippe to restore to her. Be that as it may, her firmness, or her obstinacy, call it by what term you will, has brought about a singularly anomalous measure: the protectorate flag was this day restored, and the first act of the protectorate was to announce the formal deposition of Pomare for ever, and the appointment of a regent in her place. A fat-bellied fellow, named Praita, whose interests were secured by the Belgian for the French before they came to the island, was nominated regent. He is a jolly old gourmand of a native—one of the sort that Cæsar wished Cassio to be when he uttered the exclamation "Would that he were fat!" Bulk in this instance, however, has not prevented the party turning traitor. After the investiture of the renegade, the governor gave an entertainment to such of the natives as chose to be present. I was confined to my bed, and did not witness any portion of the ceremonies; but it was described to me as a miserable affair: only 200 or 300 natives attended, and they were the riff-raff of the island, who assembled to dance lewd dances, and procure all they could get in the way of eating and drinking.

The change of flag and nomination of regent do not alter the position of affairs one jot — the siege is not raised, and martial law is still proclaimed to exist.

There was talk of the Diana's not being allowed to return to the Leeward Islands. To carry out our operations, it was absolutely necessary that she should: and I waited upon the governor to let him know, that in order to complete our contract for the sup-

plying of timber, we needed men from Raiatea accustomed to the work, and who were capable of diving through surf, and bearing much exposure in the water. The governor replied, "That if it was not the intention for the Diana to trade at the Leeward Islands, she was at liberty to go; the privilege of trading being reserved for vessels wearing the flag of France, just as in England the coasting trade is confined to vessels strictly English." My object, for the time, being attained, and as no good could result from my questioning by what authority he sought to monopolise this privilege for the flag of France, I offered no remark, but ere long I shall have to argue the point with him. Captain Hunter has been residing there for the last twenty years, and many of his children were born there; and why we are to have our communication interrupted, I cannot see. Raiatea is a kingdom independent of Tahiti, and was never in any way subject to it.

January 11*th.*—The Diana sailed for Raiatea and the Hervey group, and the French steamer weighed anchor yesterday, bound for the isthmus, and then, it is asserted, to make the tour for the Leeward Islands, for the purpose of hoisting the protectorate flag. I sincerely trust, if this prove the case, that the natives will show them no violence, or they will assuredly provoke a bloody retaliation, and have good grounds for hereafter preserving their belief, "that the appearance of a comet is the sign of coming evil."

January 21*st* is memorable for the departure from Tahiti of Monsieur D'Aubigny, the commandant-

particular, the man who, because "a French sentinel was attacked in the night of the 2nd to the 3rd of March, in reprisal caused to be seized *one Pritchard*," and who, under this dignified appellation, subjected the British consul to the rigorous treatment of the worst of felons. Monsieur D'Aubigny may consider himself a zealous servant of France, but to allow his feelings of prejudice to master all other considerations, and induce him to commit acts liable to involve his country in a war with England, is not the way to betray his zeal, or obtain the thanks of his country, one would think. It is frightful to consider what might have been the effects of his conduct. We hear that the threatening storm has passed away; but I regret that Monsieur D'Aubigny had not been *forced* by his government to atone upon the island in public for his outrageous excess. Who instigates the natives now?

January 29th.—The United States brig Perry arrived from the Sandwich Islands, and on going to anchor, saluted the protectorate flag with twenty-one guns, and the French flag afterwards with the same number, the salutes being returned from the shore. The commander of the Perry was perfectly indifferent as to the number of flags he saluted, and jocosely inquired if there were any more; but he was scrupulously observant that a like number of guns was returned. One of the return salutes fell short of a gun; he immediately dispatched an officer with a remonstrance, an apology was made, the officer committing the mistake censured, or put under arrest,

and a fresh salute was given true tally. What children we are!

February 2nd.—The Diana came in from the Hervey group; she had encountered tempestuous weather, and had been compelled to return with half a cargo. After discharging and getting ready for sea, she was peremptorily prohibited from returning to Raiatea if she thought of visiting Tahiti again. The captain of the port read his instructions from the chief of the staff, who writes, "that he had been directed by the governor to inform him, that any vessel under a foreign flag calling at Raiatea would not be allowed to re-enter the harbour of Tahiti; and all vessels wearing the flag of France were absolutely forbidden, under any circumstances, to visit Raiatea." Here is a change, my masters! Remonstrance being useless, we waited upon Consul-General Miller: he was of undoubted opinion that France could not interfere with the trade of British ships to the Society Islands, which were independent sovereignties, and he protested against any such interference. Meanwhile, to save delay, we cleared the Diana for the Hervey group again, and on *February 8th* she cleared the passage.

February 11th.—H. M. S. Talbot entered the harbour; having no official instructions to that effect, she did not salute the protectorate flag. Now mark! the French admiral, with authority, seizes the island of Tahiti, and is the cause of much loss of life; his government, repudiating his conduct as unjustifiable, orders the island to be restored to its protectorate (?). With this strong precedent before their eyes, what

do the French authorities? This—and mark again! because Sir Thomas Thomson, the captain of the Talbot, has no authorisation from his government to recognise the protectorate flag, they send an armed boat from the Uranie frigate to keep guard upon the Talbot, to prevent communication between her people and the shore; in other words, they throw down the gauntlet of war to a corvette. But let me not mistake; H.M.S. Salamander is also lying in the harbour, but she has been at her anchors a quiet spectator of passing events for so many months, that I have omitted to record her presence. She arrived here during the exciting time, nine or ten months since, and her commander has acted so entirely upon the *non-committal* principle, that I have had nothing of interest to note respecting her. I believe her arrival took place during my last sojourn at Valparaiso, which will explain why I have no entry made of it. Under the circumstances in which he was placed, it would have been worse than madness for Sir Thomas Thomson to have used force. We saw a boat with an officer in dress leave his vessel for the Uranie; the guard-boat immediately gave chase, until they observed where she was going, when the pursuers rested on their oars till its return, and then resumed their guard. The Talbot remained in harbour five days, and during that time no one belonging to her put foot on shore, and native canoes and others that wanted to approach her were driven away, nor did the guard-boat for an instant relax in its watch upon her. On *February* 16*th* she took her departure, and Consul-General Miller departed

with her. An address was left for the British residents, to the effect that the public service required his presence in the Sandwich Islands; and that he had left his nephew, Mr. G. C. Miller, as provisional consul, to assist in matters not in collision with the local authorities, by whom Mr. Miller was not recognised. The consul-general is an observant man, of quiet and reserved habits, but kind and friendly: his presence amongst us was no doubt of service in checking the exercise of unbridled authority, but, as the French would not recognise him as consul for Tahiti, he could only, in his general official character, protest against unwarrantable proceedings. But it is a fact not to be disputed, that British subjects, since the French have usurped dominion in Tahiti, have been the objects of more ill-treatment and unjustifiable oppression, than ever were subjects of France under Tahitian rule: our trade has been interrupted, our vessels seized and detained, and our persons incarcerated, on the most frivolous pretences. I will not dwell upon particulars, and will only remark, that the charge of insult to the French nation which Du Petit Thouars brought against Queen Pomare, and upon which he based his violent proceedings, and eventually extorted the independence of her island from her, is as the shadowy complaint of some fantastical dreamer compared with the charges that might be preferred against the French for the solid indignities heaped by them upon the British nation. But Tahiti is a helpless little isle, and the policy adopted by our cabinet with her European relations appears to be conciliation and concession. It is doubtless better for the cause of

humanity that we should brook insults from a few hot-headed fire-eaters who act intemperately, than risk deluging the land with blood in a general war; but concessions ought not to come all from one side, methinks.

By the arrival of a small schooner, one of the island traders, we were put in possession of a letter, of which I here enter a translated copy.

"Ufuroa, February 12th, 1845.

"To ——

"Peace be with you. I have received the box of cloth you sent down here; are these ten pieces in the box the cloth which you mention? I have taken five and returned five to ——.

"This is my request of you — do not press me at present for payment, you know I cannot obtain money whilst I am a wandering fugitive in this foreign land.

"I felt for you when you went away to that far country, but now I am much pleased that you have returned again to Tahiti.

"I have also received the cloth which —— sent to me here; I have taken four pieces and returned two. He subsequently sent me three other pieces, which I have kept, but I have not paid for them. Do not think ill of me, I will pay you exactly when I obtain money. Peace be with you. You know that during my present troubles I cannot obtain money.

(Signed) "POMARE,
"Queen of Tahiti, &c."

85050

The poor queen was aware that my partner had been to Valparaiso, and it was the receipt of a box of prints he had brought her thence that produced this letter. I have introduced it for two reasons: the first, to show how badly off she is; and the second, to disprove the idea that Raiatea was in any way subject to her.

When Pomare was dethroned, and her houses and land taken from her, she sold by public auction all her household effects to assist in liquidating her debts. We have continued to supply her wants; and it is in vain to tell her not to distress herself as to payment, for with every fresh application for any little thing she invariably writes to assure us that she will pay us when she can.

CHAP. IV.

Wreck of the Averick, cast away at Raiatea, purchased. — Permission to go to Raiatea. — Report of the French Steamer's Proceedings. — Conduct of the Queen of Huaheine. — Anecdote of her Sister Maiera. — The Way in which the Protectorate Flag was conferred upon Raiatea, and its Reception. — The Nature of the Protection accorded to Raiatea exemplified. — Quit Raiatea, and return to it from Tahiti in the Hamburgh Brig Ferdinand. — Difficulties with the Natives. — Go in Search of the King. — Faroa. — Queen Pomare. — Opoa. — Relaxed Allegiance owing to the Excitement of the Times. — Crew desert. — An Official Notice, and its great Utility. — Anomalies. — Clear out for Raiatea, with an Admonition. — O, rare blockade! — War, and Rumour of War. — More difficulty. — Go to see Tamatoa, who now signs himself Ariipeapea (the troubled King). — Disaffection of the Chiefs at Borabora. — How Tapoa became King of Borabora. — Obstinate Conduct of the Chiefs at the Encampment. — Sail for the Hervey Group. — Mitiaru. — Atiu. — Mauke. — Nārurotu. — Non-existence of certain Islands marked on the Chart. — Set of the Current off Mauke. — Come to an Anchor at Tahiti, and learn that the Siege is raised, but that all the old vexatious Regulations continue in force. — More Bother about returning to Raiatea. — Expensive Autographs. — Scenes in Borabora. — Alas! how changed the Place! — French Influence. — A pleasing Surprise. — Death of Pomare's Infant. — A Visit from the blockading Squadron. — Word from Borabora. — French Steamer called at Huaru. — The Courtesy of her Commander. — Sail for Tahiti. — Mr. Pritchard sent to the

Navigator Islands as Consul. — Report that the English Admiral is in sight.

"A wond'rous tale could the rare old whale
Of the mighty deep disclose,
Of the skeleton forms of by-gone storms,
And of treasure that no one knows.
He hath seen the crew, when the tempest blew,
Drop down from the slippery deck."

February 22nd. — THE Union, a small schooner, arrived to day from Raiatea, with the officers and crew of the American whaler Averick, cast away during a heavy gale from the north-west, as she was lying at anchor in Huaru, "trying out." By letters we learn that Captain H—— purchased the wreck at auction, with all her gear, stores, &c. on joint account, and has drawn on us for the amount.

February 23rd. — Paid the purchase money for the wreck, and learning the French schooner Sophia, had obtained special permission to go to Raiatea, I requested a passage in her; but received a letter from the chief of the governor's staff, intimating, "that having always been a person openly opposed to the French government, permission to visit Raiatea would not be granted me."

My partner then hastened to the chief of the staff to try his luck, and I posted to the commander of the Salamander to demand his advice and interference. He advised me to protest against the prohibition, and to demand an investigation of my conduct. This latter I was ready to submit to; but what on earth had my conduct to do with commercial

relations at Raiatea? the government might just as well pretend to refuse me permission to proceed to England or to Valparaiso. A joke's a joke — I didn't care to cavil and split straws about rights and dignities when my object could be obtained without further waste of breath, even if I apparently had to make concessions, or accede to conditions, as what was I, an unknown unit? but now the affair is getting serious. Whilst discussing the matter with Commander Hamond, my partner sent down a letter he had just received from the chief of the staff, "refusing him also permission to depart for Raiatea, upon the same grounds that it had been withheld from me. We were in a quandary, a "regular fix," as the Yankees would say, and I set me down to pen a protest, and adduce reasons why this despotic conduct should not be persisted in, and had just brought my appeal to a close, when an orderly made his appearance, and invited us to attend the chief of the staff at his office. We complied with the hasty summons, and on entering his presence, referring to the letters we had received, I challenged the minutest inquiry into my conduct, demanded what the accusations were against me, and who were my accusers, and requested to be confronted with them. The chief regretted that the letters had been written, and the governor wished to have no more troublesome correspondence with us; he was quite sick and tired of receiving reports and letters, and if we would only sign a document purporting that we would not talk of politics to the natives, nor suffer any one in our establishment to do so, we were at liberty to go

where we pleased. The conditions were not very hard as *neither of us could* discuss politics with the natives; so we laughed, and signed a document already prepared in French, and which the chief told us was to the above effect. No hindrance to our departure then existing, we were soon under weigh for the scene of the wreck.

February 25th.—The wreck proves to be a large and apparently a fine vessel, sunk with all her stores for a three years voyage on board, and about 200 barrels of right oil, with some bone. We entertain hopes of raising her, and of rescuing every thing not irretrievably damaged by the salt water. If we succeed, well; if not, the speculation will not prove advantageous.

From the English residents at Raiatea, we learned the following particulars relative to the French steamer's mission to the Society Isles, alluded to in my note of January 11th. On arriving at Huaheine, her commander, preserving the *suaviter in modo*, and deprecating any hostile movement on the part of the natives, threw himself upon their generosity. "He had been ordered to hoist the protectorate flag, and [like a boy at command of his master] he must obey his order; and he trusted, whatever they might do thereafter, they would throw no obstacles in the way of his performing his duty." Ariipae, the queen, and her principal chiefs were absent at Raiatea, but a chief stepped forward and formally protested against the raising of the flag; but neither he nor the people offered the slightest insult or injury to the commander, or to those that were with

him: and under these circumstances the flag was hoisted and suffered to remain unmolested, until the return of Ariipae, which was only postponed for the time necessary for the voyage, after she had been apprised of the event, when she immediately ordered the offensive flag to be torn down.

Ariipae, like her deceased sister Maiera, is a woman of great energy and fearless temperament. In former years, when conflicts were common between opposite parties of natives, Maiera turned the tide of battle, and saved the broken party; whose cause she espoused, from a shameful defeat. It had been routed and panic stricken; the natives, regardless of the cries of their leaders, were flying in wild confusion for their lives. Maiera, who was on board a vessel in the harbour, seeing how affairs went, sprang into the sea with a musket in her hand, and, swimming ashore, intercepted the retreating fugitives. She reproached them in the bitterest and most sarcastic terms, and called out that "the barren mountains should be the future portion of the land for those that fled, and their food should be grass and the roots of the feiis."* Stung by her reproaches, they rallied and turned upon their pursuers with such spirit and fury, that they speedily converted a disorderly retreat into a victorious pursuit. Only very recently, having learnt that some of her chiefs had been tampered with, and were betraying symptoms of favouring the French, Ariipae immediately quitted Raiatea in a boat, seized

* Feii is a mountain plantain.

them, and carried them back with her as prisoners: had Pomare acted as promptly towards her rebel chiefs, probably many of her difficulties would have been spared her.

The protectorate flag was hoisted at Raiatea in a singularly covert manner: — One morning, so early that no one was stirring, a boat from the steamer then lying at anchor at Uturoa quietly landed a party on a little mole or jetty opposite the missionary's residence; and this party, happily for them, raised the flag without notice or observation, and effected their retreat to the vessel in the same unostentatious way. The natives became first aware of the flying of this symbol of protection, thus *royally* and *graciously* vouchsafed to them, by hearing it saluted from the guns of the steamer. They rushed out of their houses at the noise of the firing, and saw with rage and indignation the cause of it, so treacherously introduced. Without a moment's hesitation, they tore it down and rent it into shreds; and one native, wrapping parts round his head and body, ran frantically about the beach, yelling shouts of scorn and defiance. Warned by this, I suppose, they refrained from attempting to land the flag at Borabora; but it was formally hoisted and saluted on board the steamer as she lay in the harbour.

If these proceedings are advised, do they not evince exceeding folly? Here is a nation, unsolicited, *forcing protection* (*?*) upon a people who dread nothing so much as intercourse with France; they go through all the idle ceremony of hoisting and saluting flags, and then what do they? Listen! *They leave the islands without a Frenchman upon them, or a single*

representative to watch the interests of the people they insist upon protecting; and what follows? Why, the United States brig Perry, which sailed from Tahiti on the 8th of February, reported bound for the Sandwich Islands, touched at Huaheine; and upon the complaint of a citizen of the United States, for many years resident in Huaheine, and married to a native woman, the commander of this ship went over to Raiatea and bullied Tamatoa out of seventy or seventy-five dollars. The amount is not large, but dollars are not coined in Raiatea, neither are they picked up from the beach; and small as the sum was, the state of the king's treasury did not admit of his paying the whole down, and he was suffered to pay one half at the time, on his promising to pay the other half at a future period. I learnt the cause of this imposition from an English resident of many years' standing in Raiatea, and who was intimately acquainted with the particulars. It appears that some years since, an American whaler was lying in Huaheine; and seven of her crew, dissatisfied with the overbearing conduct of the mate, determined on leaving her; and not wishing to distress the vessel more than was necessary, they took the worst of the boats in the night, and made their escape to Raiatea. On landing, the natives, suspecting they were runaways, made them prisoners, and the boat was taken to the king; who, on learning the name of the captain of the vessel, and from whence it came, recognised in him an old acquaintance; and as he expected him again at his island, resolved on preserving the boat for him. After a time, the American living in Huaheine, discovering

where the boat was, presented himself before Tamatoa with a receipt, which purported that he had purchased the boat. Tamatoa demanded the captain's letter authorising him to deliver it up, and as the man could not produce it, he declined doing so. It was kept under a shed, and occasionally Tamatoa made use of it; but years rolled on without the captain appearing to claim it, and it ultimately fell to pieces. And so, for doing no more than his duty, the American commander *does* the king out of seventy or seventy-five dollars. He must certainly have had the might of his nation more than the justice of the case in view when he did it,—*and such is the* PROTECTION *extended to Raiatea.*

March 19th.—By the indomitable energy and perseverance of Captain Hunter, we succeeded in turning the Averick keel up, with all her cargo in her; a most arduous task, as all her dead weight was in her bottom, and empty casks and shooks in the 'tween decks; and, be it remembered, the vessel was not in a dock or near a yard, where every mechanical means could have been resorted to, but in a place where he had to trust alone to his own invention for forming and contriving purchases, and where he was left with the scantiest and poorest means for accomplishing such a purpose. None but a man possessed of his iron will and constitution could have succeeded. He has temporarily repaired the damage, and raised her; and it does not require much attention to keep her free with the pumps. To-morrow he will commence discharging her; and seeing the speculation in this favourable train to-day,

we took passage again for Tahiti, in the same schooner, Union, that conveyed the wrecked people thither. The master of the Union tells us, that the French authorities detained his vessel for having gone to Raiatea; and she was under *duresse* a week, and liberated only upon the interference of Captain Hamond, of H. M. S. Salamander, and then had permission to go any where. We have fallen on queer times!

April 1*st.*—Started again for Raiatea, having chartered the Hamburgh brig Ferdinand to convey what cargo might have been procured from the Averick to Valparaiso. Found the natives in great excitement at the proceedings of the French, and could not depend upon any of them for labour; emissaries from the chiefs having been down to summon all to the encampments, under pain of having the land taken from them, and fire put to the houses of all who kept away. Despatched the Ferdinand; and after many ineffectual attempts to heave the Averick out, to submit her to thorough repair, we came to the resolution of taking the brig Diana to the Hervey group for the remainder of the timber destined for Tahiti, and on her arrival at Tahiti, to provide new falls and gear, copper, &c., to replace the worn out material which could no longer be trusted to. But now came the difficulty. In consequence of the interdiction of the chiefs, we could not engage hands to man the brig; and being utterly at a loss, a son of Captain H——'s and myself took a canoe, and made for the encampment on the north side of the island, where we heard the king

was staying, to see if *he* would grant us men. After a pull of about seventeen miles, we reached Faroa, a horse-shoe bight, running from a mile to a mile and a half inland. It is a pretty spot; but owing to the abrupt hilly and mountainous character of the surrounding country, which attracts the clouds, it is subject to much wet weather. Tamatoa was absent; but we saw Queen Pomare, who complains bitterly of the persecuted life she leads, and of the inconvenience she is exposed to; she yearns for her own beautiful island, like a mother longing for her child. We took breakfast and dinner with her; and learning that Tamatoa was at a settlement called Opoa, about five miles higher up, at the conclusion of the repast we renewed out journey. It was late when we arrived at Opoa. The king received us with great friendliness, and not only gave his sanction for our engaging as many men as we required, but volunteered to supply us gratuitously with men from those who had been sentenced to labour for their offences, if we would engage to bring from the island we were bound for two large canoes that had been manufactured for him long ago, but which the natives had no means of conveying to him.

Opoa is the most beautiful valley in Raiatea; it extends, a fine level, covered with the richest verdure, three or four miles from the sea to the base of the mountains; and a streamlet, in its own joyous translucency, wantons through it, smiling and dimpling in the glowing favour of the sun, silent and stealthy beneath the overhanging banks and cool shadow of its sombre foliage, like another co-

quette escaped from the parent eye. The mother of this streamlet was at home, high up in the bosom of the mountains, feeding other children. We passed the night at Opoa, and at dawn again started for Faroa. The present excited times have so far disturbed the submissive allegiance of the people, that when a certain number of those under sentence were told to accompany us, they flatly refused, and the chief who bore the orders had not the power to compel them. The barriers of rank and distinction are wofully invaded; nor is it much to be wondered at, from the unsettled way in which they are thrown together by continued alarms. The only point on which all seem agreed blindly to yield devotion and obedience to their chiefs is, in the hearty determination to repel the French. They swear they will live under their chiefs alone, or share with them one common grave. Finding we could do nothing with them, we returned to Huaru. On the way, we called at Uturoa and engaged three white men for the voyage, with whom, and with those on board, we hoped to manage. But now our old hands turned round, and refused to leave the harbour unless we raised their wages to an exorbitant extent. We told them if they would not leave the harbour, we would very soon make them leave the ship; which we did instanter, by ordering them to the office to get the balance of any wages due. The three men we had just engaged met them as they were going to the house, and their representations induced them also to declare off. Abandoned on all sides, we bent the sails of Captain H——'s little schooner Rambler, and manned

her among ourselves. Captain H—— is a capital cook, an excellent hand at frying rashers of salt pork in the ashes, wood ashes being *clean dirt;* and as for his son, commend me to Jack for turning out a pancake. Modesty forbids me speaking of my own merits, but I must confess I am a *capital hand* for "*turning in.*" On *April* 18*th* we availed ourselves of a favourable breeze, and gallantly shaped our course for Tahiti, bearing with us a letter which Captain H—— had received from the commander of the French steamer, and which no one on the island could comprehend, as it was in the French language. On our laying it before the commander of the Salamander, he apprised us that it was an official communication from the commander of the Phaeton, advising Captain Hunter "that he had the orders of the governor for informing him, that the island of Raiatea was in a state of blockade, and if after eight days from the receipt of this notice any of his vessels were found leaving the island of Raiatea, they would be confiscated." This letter or notice concluded with "assurances of the utmost consideration," and was dated *March* 25*th.* We sailed, in our blissful ignorance, on the 18th of April, and on arriving in Tahiti learnt that the blockade had only been publicly announced there on the 15th,—more anomalies! There is an old saying, that "proffered service stinks;" happy would it have been if the French had thought of this before they tendered their services of "protection" to the Society Isles; but it is outrageous, because these proffers are rejected, that they should seek to blockade their ports. It is like a strong man approaching a weak one, and

offering him the hand of friendship or a blow on the cheek. How long is this game to be played?

By the assistance of Captain Hamond, who supplied us with two of his men from the Salamander, we engaged sufficient hands for the Diana; and her master procuring a passport from the governor, on *April 27th*, all being ready, and the little Rambler tolerably well laden and crowded, we got under weigh; the captain of the port having admonished the master of the Diana that if he went into Raiatea without getting the passport furnished by the governor countersigned by the commander of the Phaeton, the Rambler would be seized.

April 29th. — Passed the island of Huaheine; saw no signs of the Phaeton. Continued our course for Raiatea, reaching it the same afternoon. The Young Hero, an American whaler, was there — O, rare blockade! — but no steamer; and at 6 P.M. we had the Rambler moored alongside the Diana at Huaru. On entering the passage at Uturoa, we were boarded by one of the missionary residents, who told us, with considerable agitation, that Tamatoa, Tapoa, Pomare, and her husband, with about thirty whaleboats, well manned, had left the preceding day for Tahaa, for the purpose of making a descent upon Borabora, three of the chiefs there having listened to the seducing offers made them by the French, and thrown off their rightful allegiance. As we wound our way through the reefs conducting to the anchorage at Huaru, we noticed a fleet of boats under sail; but they appeared approaching us from Tahaa, and our surmise proved correct. In a short

time one of the boats lowered its sail, and Pomare's husband pulled alongside, and not long after came Pomare herself. A messenger from Borabora had brought them intelligence that the French steamer was lying there, and in consequence, for the present they had abandoned their designs; but Tapoa intended going over, whilst Tamatoa remained at Tahaa. This created a still more feverish excitement, and runners were despatched to call every man, woman, and child to the encampment; not one was to be left; even our household servants, and the men engaged to pump the Averick and keep her from sinking, were ordered off. This was an extreme measure, and we strongly opposed our veto against the pumpers leaving; but we might as well have "whistled jigs to a milestone," go they must. The men were not desirous to leave, but were under the fear of having their lands taken from them. Bidding them continue their watch and work till our return, we engaged a boat's crew and pulled over to Tahaa to obtain Tamatoa's sign manual for the men to remain with us. He gave us, without scruple, written permission to retain as many men as we pleased, upon condition that we allowed them to leave if the French came to attack the island. He signed this document "Ariipeapea." I asked the meaning of this change of signature, and was told that it was a new name he had adopted on account of the difficulties that surrounded him, and it signified "the troubled king." It is a common practice with the kings and high chiefs to assume new names on any extraordinary occurrence of a personal nature; and

formerly, when a king adopted any word as his name, it became sacred, and was discontinued in common conversation; for which reason, the derivation of Tamatoa, Tapoa, and many of the ancient names of chiefs is now lost in oblivion. Raiatea was also formerly called Ulitea, and Moorea, Eimeo; but I never heard on what occasion, or for what reason, these names were transmuted: their proper names, generally, have very significant meanings attached to them.

Old Tamatoa, or Ariipeapea as he now writes himself, looked troubled enough; "I wonder," said he, "what the French mean, I suppose they will take all the islands in the sea." Tapoa had started for Borabora, and the natives of Raiatea were to hold themselves in readiness to follow him at any moment; and if, during the night, a beacon fire was lighted on the mountains at Borabora, they were at once to go over and aid in subduing the disaffected party. The night was spent in anxious watching, but passed over in quietude; and during the day ensuing a messenger from Tapoa arrived, requiring the people to remain in tranquillity. He had had an interview with the commander of the French steamer, in the presence of the English missionary resident; he demanded "What the steamer was doing there, exciting his people and troubling his land?" and he ordered her away.

The commander of the steamer replied, "that the government of the island had been given to Louis Philippe, his king, by Omai, and therefore he would not leave unless Omai desired him to do so."

Omai rejoined, "that he would as readily consent to their cutting off his head."

Omai, formerly the king of Borabora, is an aged man, and somewhat sunk into obliviousness. Many years since, by a stipulated treaty, he resigned his sovereignty to Tapoa, when the latter lost his own island of Tahaa in fighting for the Boraborans, in the endeavour to attain for them supreme authority over the island of Raiatea. As has been shown, Tapoa once achieved the victory; but the spirited conduct of Ariipae's sister changed the fortune of the day. When the Boraboran party fled, Tapoa was discovered behind the breastwork of his defences, shot through the wrist, and with a bullet in his knee (which remains there yet), unable to move, and supported in the arms of a solitary female attendant. The Raiateans were about to kill him, but their hearts relented, for they could not shed royal blood; and instead of doing so, they wept over his afflictions, embraced him, summoned their people from the conflict, and prepared a splendid banquet for him. In all amity, Tahaa was subsequently annexed to Raiatea, and Tapoa, by the unanimous voice of the people, and the free and unconstrained surrender of Omai, was called to rule over Borabora and its dependencies. He was solemnly invested, like the kings of ancient Israel, in the presence of the head chiefs of all the islands of the Society and Georgian group, who assembled to witness the ceremony, and was anointed with sacred oil by one of the missionaries to add to the solemnity of the compact, and to stay

all future feuds. From that time Tapoa has enjoyed quiet sway; and in proof of the excellency of his management, it may be mentioned, that since his rule more trade has been conducted in native produce from that little island, than from all the other islands of the two groups combined. Tapoa is a quiet, reflecting, and exceedingly well-behaved chief; and though it would be none the less absurd, yet it would be less pitiful and inglorious, if France were to lay claim to the throne of Great Britain because James the Second abdicated it and sought refuge in France, than seek to disturb the peaceful administration of these Lilliputian kingdoms, by practising on the imbecilities of old age, or tampering with the grosser passions of sensuality. Faaita and Tivaura, the other two chiefs in league with the French, are so completely animal, that either of the two would lend his wife or sister for a dollar: is anything more needed to explain the influence acquired over them?

We sent Ariipeapea's missive to the chiefs at the Vaiaao encampment; but one of the stern old fellows said, that Tamatoa had given him instructions to collect all the people, and if *he* (Tamatoa) did not know his own mind, he knew what his orders were, and he would not allow us to retain the people we required. The fear of being held responsible for the loss of the ship if she went down induced him to let four of the pumpers remain; but every other soul was summoned to the encampment. We addressed another letter to the chiefs, pointing out the probable consequence of the obstinacy if it was persisted in, and throwing all blame upon their shoulders. After

waiting a reasonable time for an answer, without getting one, on *May 6th* we set sail for the Hervey group, called also Cook's Archipelago, lying between four and five hundred miles, in a west-south-westerly direction, from Tahiti.

The first island we discovered was Mitiaru, on *May 10th*. It is small and low, differing little in elevation from the islands of the Paumatu group. We also sighted Atiu, an island of similar appearance; and in the course of a few hours made Mauke, the island we were bound for. It is in latitude 20° 12′ S., and longitude 157° 20′ W. It is not above six or seven miles in circumference, and is evidently of volcanic formation, being entirely covered with vitrified scoria; but there is rich black soil beneath it which yields prolificly, splendid groves of tamanu and aito trees appearing to shoot from the solid rock. The settlement is in a cleared patch, about the centre of the island, and is really a pretty spot: its population, including men, women, and children, does not exceed 200. A missionary teacher, native of Raiatea, is their instructor, and deals his cards with a knowing hand. The natives resemble more the Paumatu men than the Tahitians, having a rougher appearance and less refined habits. The fecundity of the cleared soil supplies them abundantly with vegetable productions, they have plenty of fowls, ducks, turkeys, pigs, &c., and consequently they are well fed and a strong-built race. Pathways are partly constructed, and partly worn by time, leading in various directions through the island; and off these it is scarcely possible to move, owing to the sharp

jagged points of the vitrified scoria, scattered and wedged in a way to defy walking.

Atiu used formerly to exact and receive tribute from Mitiaru and Mauke, not because it had ever rendered them any service, or was of present benefit to them, but on the principle which has always governed the world, and will ever do so, I suppose, "that might makes right." We see that with the birds of the air, the fish of the sea, and the brutes of the forest, the stronger prey upon the weak; and man differs only from the brute creation in that, by his superior cunning, he preys upon all. This tribute to Atiu was discontinued for a season, and the natives thereafter refused to renew it; upon which Atiu assembled its warriors and attacked Mitiaru, burnt down its villages, cut down its cocoa-nut trees, destroyed the plantations, and carried off all the young women and children. Having reposed themselves after the successful accomplishment of this notable exploit, the men of Atiu began to think of directing their civilities towards Mauke; but it so happened, that, just at the time Mauke received warning from a Mitiaru fugitive of the kind attentions that were preparing for them, Captain H—— called at the island to barter for timber. In great consternation, the natives told him of their deadly apprehensions, and besought his advice and assistance. Now the men of Atiu possessed muskets and powder, obtained from whalers, which gave them an infinite superiority over their neighbours, and the Mauke people had good cause to tremble. But Captain H——, not liking to see his

old friends destroyed, supplied them also with muskets and powder; so that, when the Atiuans arrived, not a little to their disgust and surprise, they found as warm a reception in readiness for them as they were prepared to give, and, dissembling their designs, they returned home. They made two other attempts, hoping to catch Mauke napping; but as she was always on the alert, they ultimately abandoned their meditated purpose, and entered into a league of friendship with them.

Nearly south-east by east from Mauke there is an island, known to the natives as Nārurotu. Their ancestors used occasionally to resort thither to fish, as it possesses a lagoon in its centre, — the only crater island in the group. They have only traditionary accounts respecting it, as no native living on Mauke has ever seen it. Some charts have "island" laid down in the direction indicated; but I learnt from a person who had visited the island more than once, that its true position is 21° 45′ S., and longitude 155° 10′ W.: it is not inhabited, although there are plenty of cocoa-nut trees upon it. The islands of this group are all laid down with much inaccuracy; and Armstrong Island, Roxburg Island, and Mahowara, have no existence. There are no harbours at any of them, being rock-bound and steep too; the landing places are on flats of crystallised coral, and you have to watch your opportunity of going over with the roll of the sea. The natives use, for visiting ships, two light canoes lashed together, which they pull with oars, as we do our boats. Atiu is the Tahitian name; in the vernacular the island is called

Katutia. We were engaged three or four days rafting off the timber prepared for us at Mauke, and we then entered into a fresh contract with the people. Whilst lying off and on, we noticed a strong current setting from the northward; and Captain H—— tells me he was present on one occasion when a schooner was nearly swept ashore by it, in consequence of the master of her persisting in keeping to the northward of the island, and the wind subsequently falling light.

May 26th.—Came to an anchor at Taonoa. The siege was declared raised on the 8th current; but the only difference it makes is, that the residents have had the liberty of staying out of their houses extended to 8 o'clock instead of sundown, all the other vexations, restrictions, and regulations, being in full force.

As usual, objections were again opposed to the Diana's return to Raiatea; but after some warm expostulations, the governor finally determined that our vessels might go to Raiatea, but on condition that they did not return to Tahiti. "But that will entirely prevent our carrying cattle from Raiatea." "He could not help that; he was determined to prevent direct communication *from* Raiatea, and, therefore, if we had permission to go there, we must visit some other port before returning to Tahiti." Having thus definitively declared himself, Monsieur Bruat rose abruptly and wished me "good morning." He has no more right to interfere with British commerce at Raiatea than he has with that to New South Wales; but query, if he violates international

law and seizes our vessels, having the force to do so, will our government see us indemnified? ay, there's the rub! The way in which Mr. Pritchard has been sacrificed does not offer much encouragement to the spirit of British enterprise. We shall see.

May 31*st.*—Lifted the "mud-hook;" the master of the brig receiving reiterated instructions from the captain of the port by no means to enter Raiatea until his passport was countersigned by the commander of the steamer; even if it was necessary for him to visit Borabora, or any other port, to obtain the authorising autograph—What the deuce do they take us for?—and on leaving Raiatea for any other port, he was to go through the same formality. I think, as a mercantile man, that it would be difficult to find a purchaser who would give a profit on the price they wish us to pay for these autographs. Bah!

June 1*st.*—Without having seen a French vessel, or experienced any hindrance, this afternoon we were again safely moored at Huaru; and in a day or two from this date I crossed over to Borabora in the Rambler, to wind up certain commercial operations which the natives now are prevented from attending to. The French steamer was lying at anchor, and I waited upon her commander, who received me with much politeness. But what a change has come over Borabora! formerly, it used to be the busiest and best ordered island of the group; now all order is subverted, industrious pursuits are absolutely at a stand-still, and vice has spread its disease amongst them. On landing, the first thing that greeted my ears were the shrieks of

a woman. I hastened to ascertain the cause, and beheld a native striking a woman, and forcing her to accompany him. It proved to be his wife: she had been on board the steamer with one of the officers, and had only just come ashore in a boat with some of them. The officers walked away without offering to interfere; and I think it was well they did, for there was that "quiet devil" in the man's eye which indicated that the measure of his forbearance was full, and I have not the slightest doubt that any personal collision would bring on a general affray. There is but one missionary resident on the island—a mild timorous man, not at all calculated for disturbed or unsettled times. Vice and sickness have been introduced amongst his pupils, his schools are broken up, and his labours rendered of no avail; and he is afraid to open his mouth to the distressed people, who have listened to his instructions for the last six years, lest he should give offence to France. Abandoned in their hour of need by the man to whom they have been accustomed to apply for advice in their difficulties, is it wonderful that they should fall?

Much has been talked of the influence acquired by the French over the natives from the intrigues of the renegades Mai, Tivaura, and Faaita; but with the exception of the immediate relatives of the apostates, they absolutely possess none. The women, from the softness of their character, and their fondness for finery, commit themselves; but there is not a *man* upon the island, allowing for the above exceptions, that does not hold the French in the heartiest

detestation,—and of a verity they have cause. The Ethnological Society of Paris has engaged itself to co-operate with the English Aborigines Protection Society in the effort to ameliorate the condition of the aborigines of those countries which may have been, or may hereafter be, conquered by any of the nations of Europe. "Prevention is better than cure;" no better opportunity can present itself for the exercise of philanthropic zeal; and timely interposition may yet avert the fate impending over this fine race, already considerably advanced in civilisation.

On returning to Raiatea, a pleasing surprise was awaiting me; five or six of the Raiateans, the times being auspicious, had allowed their cupidity so far to get the better of their judgment, that they had accused me to the king of having brought two Frenchmen from Tahiti in the schooner Rambler; and Captain H—— was accused of having concealed them in his house. The motives alleged for our conduct were based upon the most popular theme—nothing less than the seizure of Pomare. We were told that these rumours were first propagated whilst we were absent at Mauke; probably upon the supposition that our impeachers would be commissioned to institute a search, which would facilitate the opportunity of pilfering, particularly as none but females were left to protect the place. The king, however, would not listen to their idle talk, and pooh-pooh'd them from him; but some of the chiefs, not so incredulous as the king, absolutely went and examined the house and premises. And now the authors of the charge repeated their assertions, and attributed my visit to Borabora to no

other purpose than that of putting the Frenchmen on board the steamer, having through them been defeated in my intentions. The impudent pertinacity of these accusations calling for correction, I wrote to the king, demanding that my accusers might be allowed the opportunity of proving their charges, or, failing to do so, that they might be punished. In his answer, Ariipeapea begged me "not to be in a hurry; he was aware of the bad talk, and in a short time the judges would be down our way, when my request should be complied with."

June 21st.—News was brought that Pomare's last born child was dead, and that she was inconsolable for its loss; she neither ate nor drank for three days and nights, and "her grief is very sore," as the natives express it. She seems to have clung the more to this child from its having been the child of her afflictions: born, as it was, in the midst of her troubles, when she sought refuge in the mountains from the French. Poor woman! her trials and difficulties have usually come upon her when the delicacy of her condition required more than ordinary kindness and attention, and in this instance her offspring has proved the sacrifice. Another thing that adds to the bitterness of her grief is, that she had christened the babe after our gracious queen, and was in hopes that Victoria would reciprocate the compliment, by calling some future daughter Pomare. With the loss of this infant, she feels her inward faith of support from Britain dying from her.

June 24th.—Two vessels wearing the tricolor, one a barque, the other a schooner, have been ob-

served cruising off the island for the last three or four days; and to day a boat came in from the barque with an officer, who demanded a sight of the Diana's and Rambler's papers. I was not in the way at the moment to question his authority for taking such a liberty, and the Diana's papers had been exhibited before I could prevent it; but, to see to what it might lead, I excused producing the Rambler's papers. "Where are they?"—"They are not on board,"—which was true enough. I was then advised to have them in readiness by the next week, when the steamer would make her appearance, "Otherwise," said the officer, "the schooner will be seized."

"Very good," replied I; "I can't help it, they must seize her." With a true French shrug at my nonchalance, the officer stepped into his boat and rejoined his vessel. I presume that he conjectured he was safe from ill-treatment whilst in our hands, but I cannot imagine impertinence more thoughtless and uncalled for. Surely they might find better employment for their time than frittering it away in such childish frivolity. The entire proceedings of this blockade are nothing better than a farce, as, notwithstanding the two vessels in cruise, no interruption whatever is occasioned to the intercourse between the islands.

July 4th.— My accusers were tried to day, and for the wanton wickedness of the false assertions they made to cloak other evil designs, each has been sentenced to pay a penalty of six pigs; and the half of each fine is to come to us. "We wish we may get it."

July 7th.—Tapoa paid us a visit. He had received intelligence from Borabora by a native, who came over the reef in the night to avoid the vigilance of the steamer. A meeting of the people had been convened to listen to something the commander of the steamer had to propose to them; and on their assembling, he, through his interpreter, proposed that, as Tapoa had voluntarily left Borabora, Mai, Tivaura, and Faaita, should be nominated governors of the island, and Tapoa no longer be considered king. At this truly modest proposition, the natives instantly broke up the meeting, and turned severally each his way. The rebellious chiefs were in possession of an ounce a month, the price of their apostasy; but Tapoa observed, with chuckles exulting in every dimple of his broad face, "that it did them no good, as, to render themselves acceptable, whenever they went on board the steamer they took with them a present of pigs, bananas, and cocoa-nuts, which actually cost them more than their month's base hire." He told this anecdote with such humour, and his eyes twinkled with such racy enjoyment, that, although it had to be interpreted to make me fully comprehend it, I could not refrain, by a species of infection, from participating in his roguish mirth. No attempt had been made to hoist the protectorate flag, or any other flag, upon the land, and any such attempt was to be held the signal for a general attack; forbearance was then to cease, and it would be "war to the knife." Tapoa was asked if he had not written to France, complaining to Louis Philippe of his treatment. "Yes I have written,

but I have had no opportunity of forwarding the letter; and what's the use of writing to that land of liars?" he emphatically ejaculated.

July 9th.—The French steamer made her appearance, and came to an anchor opposite Captain H——'s house. There was no assumption of the *great airs of littleness* with her commander. The object of his visit we could not divine, as he merely staid sufficiently long to send us some letters that had come from Tahiti, and to receive a visit that I made him to return thanks for his courtesy. Instructions had been forwarded to him with respect to our vessels, the Diana and the Rambler; he had mislaid those concerning the former vessel, but the latter, on leaving Raiatea, was not to visit Tahiti within a month, that any news conveyed might be stale. "How then am I to get to Tahiti?" inquired I; "our business will not admit of my making much longer delay here, far less will it afford my consuming a month in idleness elsewhere." He appeared puzzled for a moment; but after calling my attention to the fact, that he was only obeying orders, he undertook on his own authority to free me from any ill consequences of proceeding to Tahiti direct, if I would promise to allow no other person on board to hold communication with the shore until the pleasure of the governor was known. I gave the promise readily, as it in no way interfered with our operations, and I cared not if the vessel returned to Raiatea without coming to an anchor in Tahiti. On quitting the steamer, she "got up her steam," and sped her way between the reefs towards Tahaa.

July 23*rd.* — Ariipae called to-day. Pomare's lamentations for the loss of her child continue unabated; it is not yet buried; we asked when it would be. "When her grief is satisfied." Ariipae says that Pomare has received a letter from Mrs. Pritchard, wherein she tells her, that her husband and family are going out to the Navigators' Islands; but Pomare exclaims against this, saying, that Mr. Pritchard fell into trouble through her, and if her kingdom is to be restored, she would like to have him always near her.

July 24*th.* — Sailed for Tahiti in the Rambler.

July 26*th.* — Dropped anchor in Papeeti Harbour. Admiral Hamelin, in the Virginie, was there, and the English admiral was looked for daily. Strange events come to pass. H. M. S. Daphne had touched at Moorea, with Mr. Pritchard on board; and that ill-used man is now being conveyed to the Navigators' Islands, to figure as British consul amongst unreclaimed savages, where there is scarcely a British subject, and where his services can rarely be required. I suppose he is sent there to expiate, in his declining years, his first grand error in confiding too strongly in his own government.

August 10*th.* — Whilst partaking the hospitality of the officers of the Salamander, the admiral was reported to be in sight; preparations were instantly commenced to get her steam up, and in a short time the Salamander put to sea to place herself at the service of the admiral.

CHAP. V.

Disappointment. — The Protectorate Flag saluted by the British Admiral. — Frantic Behaviour of a Native. — Object of the Admiral's Arrival. — The Collingwood (eighty) enters the Harbour. — A Deputation to destroy Hope. — A Pic-nic in the Valley of Faatanua. — Departure of the Admiral. — A Trip to Moorea. — Proceedings of the Uranie. — Trust betrayed. — A Deputation to effect Cessation of Hostilities. — The Consequences of holding out false Assurances, &c. — Papeeti attacked by the Natives. — The Uranie recalled. — The Blockade of the Leeward Islands publicly announced to be removed. — Re-appearance of the French Admiral. — A Voyage to Sydney. — The Schooner calls at Raiatea, and is nearly lost. — A passing Interview with the Chiefs. — Under weigh for the Navigators' Islands. — Rose Island, &c. — The Island of Upolu; its Harbours. — The Natives; their Habits, &c.; their Houses. — Earthquakes occasionally felt. — Mischievous Work of the White Ant. — The Way in which Mr. Pritchard was installed British Consul. — Propagandists. — War at Savaii. — Timely Concessions avert War at Upolu. — Council Meeting, &c. — Apolima. — Walpole Island. — Isle of Pines. — Port Hunter, at New South Wales, made a Port of Entry for Merchandise. — Arrive in Sydney. — Observations.

"The rich man had exceeding many flocks and herds: but the poor woman had nothing, save one little ewe lamb."

August 11. — To us of the commonalty who are incapable of fathoming the profound depths and wisdom of our legislators and political agents, not a slight

disappointment was in store when we saw the Modeste enter the harbour this morning, and learnt that the Admiral was on board, and that he had left his own ship, the Collingwood, outside, with injunctions for her not to appear within sight of the island.

Apparently much correspondence ensued between the admiral and the governor, and some difficulty seemed to exist; but if so, on *August* 12*th* it was removed, and the Modeste, wearing the admiral's broad pennant, saluted the protectorate flag. This consummation of unhoped for evil filled the natives with consternation; a regular rush was made to the mountains, and in a short time scarcely a native was to be seen. A messenger from the camp came to our store to see the British officers, and learn beyond doubt if their worst fears were realised; and after what he both saw and heard, his grief amounted to agony; he tore off his shirt, threw it on the ground, and stamped frantically upon it; and in his passion, the tears streaming down his face, he asked, "Why we had behaved to them thus? Under the strong hope that we would not abandon them, they had opposed unequal resistance, and had lost their friends and relatives; they had sacrificed their best and bravest; why did you let us hope, to treat us thus?" We could only answer him, "This is none of our doing; we feel for you; and participate in your sorrow; but we have no control over the great men who guide our nation, and you ought not to visit your displeasure on us. We have never deceived you, our sympathy is sincere as ever; but it is not

in *our* power to alter your condition: our nation is great, but we, as members of it, can be compared only with drops taken from the sea: we have hoped with you, and we feel for your disappointment, therefore do not think evil of us. We have no speech, and our voices are not heard in the great governments of Britain and France; but you *must* know that our hearts incline towards you." When all this was explained to him, the old man shook me by the hand and withdrew, bitter tears still coursing each other down his cheeks.

A day or two from this date I accompanied some officers attached to the Collingwood in an excursion to the Valley of Faatanua: here similar questions were asked, and the same reproaches cast at us; *but in defiance of what they see and hear, they persist in hoping against hope; they will not believe that England has utterly abandoned them.* It is useless to argue with them; they will remain quiet till they hear from Pomare, but they swear they will never submit to the French, and they are confident that the queen will not come up from Raiatea.

Admiral Sir George Seymour did all in his power to dispel their delusive expectations, and had ordered the Collingwood to remain out of sight of the island, lest he should create too much excitement, and raise hopes only to be dashed down again by disappointment. His object in visiting Tahiti was to adjust with the French admiral Mr. Pritchard's claims for indemnification on the French government. He pointed out to the natives the irretrievable nature of the act which had forfeited them their independ-

ence, and he advised them to submit quietly to the protectorate.

The two admirals appointed each an agent to investigate Mr. Pritchard's claims, and the agents called each two merchants to assist them with their experience. We watched the proceedings; and never was conduct upon the part of a government in fault more illiberal. The French would allow nothing but what could be judicially established, and at the conclusion of the investigation, they wished to award the magnificent sum of 450*l.* as the royal reparation for the losses Mr. Pritchard had sustained — a sum that would hardly defray the travelling expenses of the family of the man who had been expelled from his home of twenty years, whose household goods had been rudely exposed to the gaze of the stranger and sold at the fall of the hammer, whose business had been destroyed and merchandize sacrificed, and whose family by various conveyances, had been compelled to find their way to Europe. There is a paradoxical saying, "that he who injures another never forgives him," and in Mr. Pritchard's case it appears to hold good. He has received grievous wrong at the hands of the French, and they cannot pardon him for it. The intemperate heat they get into when they do but speak of him, is unaccountable; and when they pronounce his name Prreet-chard, a rolling burr on the *Prit*, they aspirate the *chārd* with such ferocity, you almost wonder they don't spit their front teeth out. They have invented tales respecting him which they swear by, and which are as ridiculous as

they are unfounded: doubtless this has been done with the design of destroying all sympathy in the minds of the French public for him; and hence may arise the kingly proffer of 450*l.* for his damages. As his agents, we protested to Admiral Seymour against the proceeding; and for this I was summoned on board, and received a nice rap on the knuckles. Sir George doubted if I fully comprehended the purport of what I had written; he would answer the letter certainly, but he doubted if I had given its contents due reflection. What! he who had been sent by his sovereign to settle the question in dispute to have his proceedings protested against by a private individual! I saw the slip that had been made, apologised, and begged to withdraw the letter. Sir George courteously returned it, and without loss of time we framed another of the same argument, *praying* instead of *protesting* that any decision now come to by the commissioners might not be considered final, and asking for time to communicate with Mr. Pritchard, who might hold documents capable of materially strengthening his case. This application met a different reception, and our request was granted.

August 17*th.*—On this day it was our turn to play the "big 'un." Somehow or other, rumours had got abroad amongst the natives that the admiral's ship had been ordered to keep outside by the governor, and she did not dare make her appearance; and that the Uranie, though a much smaller vessel, was more than a match for the Collingwood. These insinuations might possibly

have had some effect had they been postponed till the Admiral's departure; but if they were put into circulation with this object, those who issued them were a thought too precipitate in their reckoning; it was out of the question to suppose that these bragging vaunts could be kept from the Admiral's ears. Whether he was influenced by them is another thing, but this *I know*, much to the chagrin of the governor, the Collingwood (eighty) line of battle-ship, the first that ever appeared amongst the islands of Polynesia, sailed close along the reef of Papeeti Bay, presenting to our admiring gaze her warlike broadside and triple battery; and with as much facility as a whale-boat, *no permission previously obtained*, nor intimation given, entered the harbour and dropped anchor nearly opposite the British consulate. The excitement amongst the natives was tremendous; and if the boast of keeping the Collingwood out had emanated from thoughtless idlers or boasting fools, they were regularly ensnared in their own speech. The beach was speedily swarming with natives from the encampments, and several came into our store and requested us to entreat the admiral to capture the French vessels of war, and they would quickly drive the men from the land. The admiral's prudential forethought in not suffering the Collingwood to appear in sight in the first instance was now clearly manifested; and he was certainly much affected at seeing the highly excited hopes which her presence created: for the natives actually believed that the taunt of defiance had brought her in; and they were all in nervous anxiety and

trembling eagerness to communicate the signal of preparation for attack. To annihilate all such ideas, and to destroy for ever the vain belief that Britain would yet send to their assistance, the admiral despatched a deputation to the camp, to remonstrate on the folly of their hopes, and the vanity of their resistance, and to advise them to submit to circumstances that were unavoidable, and to live quietly under the protectorate. The natives wept, and were bitter in their lamentations, but continued firm in the resolution never to submit to the French. The gentlemen forming the deputation assured me that it was the most painful and affecting interview they had ever witnessed, and it was a great relief to their feelings when they quitted the scene. I heard subsequently, that the intensity of grief at their disappointment was such, that the principal natives retired in solitude to the mountains, and remained three days in solemn fasting and prayer.

To give the officers of the Collingwood an opportunity of seeing something of native manners and habits, I induced a native to prepare a luhau, or native pic-nic, in a shaded glen in the valley of Faatanua; whither thirty or forty of us proceeded, the chief of the district coming out to meet us. Many of the natives had gathered there, and they would not lose this opportunity of showing their regard for the British. The chief conducted us to his house, which was entirely lined with English ensigns, and on a flagstaff outside, the British ensign was flying above the flag bestowed upon them by Captain Laws, of the Satellite. In the firm persua-

sion that the Collingwood had come to restore the original order of things, the natives had prepared for themselves ponchos, which they exhibited before us, one half representing the English ensign, and the other the Tahitian. They were manufactured of appropriate coloured calicoes, and some of them had designs painted on them, executed in a manner reflecting no little credit on their skill as artists. All the devices bore testimony of their attachment towards us, the words "Victoria e Pomare" being conspicuous on most, in a sort of scroll, beneath an attempt at the British arms blended with designs typical of Tahiti; and these ponchos were to be the jubilee dresses on the restoration. To gratify the curiosity of the officers, the natives exhibited some of their dances, and the day passed off with much pleasantry; but on the following morning, to my surprise and vexation, I heard that political motives had been assigned to our party, and I had been accused of giving offensive toasts, such as, "Away with," or "Destruction to the French," &c., &c. Three or four Frenchmen were observed hovering about us, but we were far too pleasantly occupied to trouble ourselves with a thought concerning them; and these were the fellows who got up the report. As the governor thought proper to take notice of it to the admiral, I waited upon him to remonstrate against conduct so much calculated to keep alive ill-feeling between the French and English. The governor said it was true that such reports had been made to him, but he had not taken any notice of them; which means, I suppose, that he had not caused me to be arrested.

A long diplomatic correspondence took place between the admiral and the governor relative to the Society Islands, and I understood that the conclusion arrived at was, that they were to remain unmolested until the decision of the home governments was made known, as to whether they formed dependencies of Tahiti, and as such, were to be included in the protectorate; and the officers of either country were to be at liberty to collect all the evidence in their power to prove or disprove the question.

November 20th.—To-day the admiral, whose urbanity and affability will not soon be forgotten by us, and whose personal kindness to myself and family will ever be remembered with feelings of deep gratitude, took his departure in the Collingwood for the Leeward Islands. He had the Salamander with him, and the admiral went from island to island, assuring the natives that the governor had promised to leave them in peace until it had been decided by the home governments of France and Britain whether or not they formed dependencies of Tahiti; and if it was proved that they *did not*, then they were to remain independent, and free from French protection. I saw a copy of the admiral's public letter to them on this subject, which occasioned great rejoicing.

To distract my thoughts a little from the cares of the world, before the admiral had taken his valedictory leave of Tahiti, I made a pleasure excursion to Moorea. The scenery of this island is particularly romantic, more so probably than any other of the Georgian or Society groups. It is more broken into

spurs and ridges of stupendous altitude, assuming the shape of pinnacles, broken turrets, sharp-pointed spires, crumbling walls, and falling arches. Without any great stretch of the imagination, you might fancy you were surveying the gigantic ruins of a castellated building where onced welt the ancient deities; and the illusion is aided by a bright green foliage, looking like ivy, clinging to the ruins, which has overrun the summits of the loftiest pinnacles, and adheres to the mural sides of the most precipitous ridges. But amid the grandeur of these ruins, Moorea possesses some beautiful little vales, which sleep in the light and shadow of their own loveliness, and which are rarely disturbed in their tranquillity. The house of the missionary resident reposes in one of these soft, secluded, peaceful spots. It is in a little valley called Papetoai, itself embosomed amid towering slopes richly clothed with verdure. His premises are enclosed by dry stone walls of great solidity, and the grounds have been carefully freed from scrub and weeds, and laid with verdant grass of almost emerald greenness. Beautiful trees are grouped at intervals, or stand singly in their perennial livery; and as you catch a glimpse of the lake-like bay through the vista of trees, and notice sleek cattle grazing, or quietly ruminating with their young, you are strongly reminded of some of Cumberland's lovely summer retreats. I remained a few days to enjoy excursions in various directions. Most of the natives had gone to Tahiti, and I was struck with the solitude that prevailed in my rambles. The few natives I met would eye me with a glance

of mistrust and suspicion. The laughing joyous expression of face, the jocund voice, and friendly greeting once so universal, seemed to have fled with their hopes; but when I spoke, and they detected in me a Piritani (Briton), their faces would light up for a moment, but were almost as instantaneously shaded again by a look of sadness. I avoided any attempts at conversation, as I had nothing cheering to impart on the only topic they would have thought it worth while listening to.

December 13*th.*—The Uranie French frigate, Captain Bonnard, got under weigh for the Society Islands; the reason wherefore subsequently came to light. It is reported that he sailed through the group till he made the little island of Maupiti, the one farthest to leeward, and having satisfied himself that the English admiral with his tenders were fairly departed from the scene, commenced a series of outrages, which, from their unprovoked nature, and in *defiance of good faith*, are probably without parallel. From the Maupiti natives he demanded 120 dollars for some alleged insult which he taxed them with having offered to France. The astonished natives, few in number, and without their leaders, submitted to the extortion, and scraped together the money. Borabora next received his attention; and as this island was considerably larger, so did he increase his demand, and 300 dollars was the sum now called for to appease the outraged majesty of France. The natives had no means of resisting the combined force of the Uranie and Phaeton, supported as it would be by the renegades. Their

king was away, they had no secure place of retreat, nor any defences, nor had they the means of complying with the infamous exaction. To avert the consequences of non-compliance, the missionary resident advanced them 100 dollars, and the other 200 dollars they managed to collect among themselves. On leaving Borabora, the valiant captain, passing by Tahaa and Raiatea, made a descent upon Huaheine; and still keeping in view the *scale of proportion*, demanded from Ariipae, the queen, 600 dollars, and the reinstatement of a chief whom she had banished for having endeavoured to subvert her authority, and for attempting to plant the French or protectorate flag on the island during her absence. Fatau, the chief in question, is a fat, drunken, sensually-happy rascal, passionately devoted to the bottle; and whilst under its influence, any promises to keep him well supplied with spirits would tempt him to do any thing — at those moments, a bottle of brandy would buy his whole family. He was one of the chiefs seized by Ariipae, formerly alluded to. Confiding in the assurances of the English admiral, Ariipae refused to hearken to any thing coming from Captain Bonnard, and she and her people retreated from the settlement and encamped at a place called Maeva, near the lake at the north part of the island. At this juncture, a lieutenant belonging to the Salamander found his way to Huaheine in a small sailing boat belonging to us, and seeing how affairs stood, rode down to the camp and advised the queen to pay the money under protest. But, in the first

place, the queen could not raise the money; and in the second, the old Trojan swore she *would not* pay it *if she could:* she was also queen over her own people, and if they proved traitors she should deal with them accordingly. Moreover, her reliance on the letter received from the "amiral Piritani" (British admiral) was not to be shaken, and Captain Bonnard might work his pleasure. Captain Bonnard allowed the queen two days for consideration, and then, if she did not produce the money, and otherwise yield to his dictates, he would first destroy the settlement, and afterwards attack her at the encampment. The lieutenant of the Salamander, being on leave of absence only, and limited as to time, was constrained to come away, but not before he had engaged a promise from Ariipae that she would do nothing rash. Immediately on his arrival in Papeeti, he came to us and borrowed the money necessary for liquidating the pecuniary part of the imposition, and which he trusted to forward to Huaheine by the missionary resident, who had been on a visit to Tahiti, and was on the point of returning to his charge; but that nothing might be wanting to make their disregard of all engagements as glaring as possible, the governor prohibited the missionary from returning to his station; and on *January* 22*nd,* 1846, a whaler arrived from Huaheine, and announced that hostilities had commenced there.

This report was confirmed on *January* 23*rd,* by the appearance of the Phaeton, bringing into port forty-five wounded men, and some of the foreign residents. From the latter were obtained the fol-

lowing particulars:—The limited period having passed without any concessions from Ariipae, all the foreign residents who valued their safety were ordered on board the Uranie, and then her captain commenced an indiscriminate fire on the deserted tenements, the more valuable of them being the properties of foreigners. This preliminary step being taken, he landed his men, who plundered the houses of the English and American residents, and slaughtered their live stock; and when remonstrated with by such of the owners as accompanied the boats to look after their property, they were rudely thrust aside, and admonished to hold their tongues. After the demolition of the settlement, leaving the Uranie to guard the harbour, Captain Bonnard, with the majority of the forces, joined the steamer, and went round to attack the encampment. The steamer could not approach near enough to render her guns effective, and the landing was effected by boats. The French had been beguiled by Fatau, who led them to suppose that more than half the natives at Maeva were ready to create a diversion in his favour; and whilst the troops, expecting their arrival and co-operation, were blindly feeling their way through the bush, the natives burst furiously upon them, killing and wounding a great many, the survivors having to seek their security in flight. Old Ariipae, musket in hand, and with half a dozen cartouch boxes belted round her slender waist, was there to encourage her people; and of a verity, Captain Bonnard's attempt transmitted no additional lustre to the rays of glory surrounding the French throne.

It is said that the governor, in his vexation at the repulse and slaughter sustained, thought at one time of sending the steamer back with reinforcements; but it reaching his ears that her departure was to be the signal for a concentrated attack upon Papeeti, he altered his tactics, retained the steamer with him, and caused Borabora to be evacuated; the war schooner bringing up to Tahiti all those natives who had forfeited consideration at the hands of their countrymen.

This check appeared to convince the governor that he had too many irons in the fire, that he had been too precipitate in his measures, and that it were well to essay an opposite line of conduct. With this conciliatory spirit, emissaries, under the safeguard of a female, a relative of Queen Pomare's, sought the encampment at Papenoo, with overtures from the governor to the natives; but they declined listening to any proposals in their queen's absence, and would be guided by her dictates if she returned. A cessation of hostilities was then proposed, until the steamer could return from a mission to the queen. This was consented to, and the steamer made the voyage, and brought word that the queen was near her accouchement, but would come back to her people as soon as her safety would permit. Not a native on the island credited the report; but to keep up appearances, after a decent interval elapsed, the steamer was again got under weigh, having on board the female relative who served as escort to the encampment.

March 9th. —The steamer has come back bootless,

and without the female relative, Pomare having detained her. It was easy to discern that all was not the "clean potato," but it was confidently asserted that Pomare intended coming up if her health had admitted, and that on the recovery of her strength she would most assuredly return.

It would have been better, probably, if nothing had been said, or that the truth had been told; for the natives, distrustful of any thing coming from the French, dispatched a whale-boat to Raiatea to learn the truth, and to their unmitigated exasperation and dismay, they became acquainted with the fact, that their queen had written to the governor apprising him in terms not to be misunderstood, "that she never would return to Tahiti so long as he or his troops remained upon it; and he might proceed to exterminate her people, and when his work of destruction was complete, he could then murder her." The falsehoods with which they had been entertained, the reports from the Leeward Islands, which spread like wild-fire through the camps, combined with the personal ill-treatment of some Tahitians, who had been unjustly confined in the calliboose, and starved upon bread and water, created a vehement thirst for vengeance; and on *March 21st*, a party of fifty or sixty, unable to control their rage, burst in upon the settlement. They cleared the Uranie barracks, set fire to the house of the *justice* of *peace*, and to a large building the French had erected for the purpose of manufacturing bricks in, and were about burning down the residence of a traitor chief named Maré; but before

doing so, they entered the house occupied by the commander of the Salamander and gave him warning of their intentions. As nothing could have prevented Captain Hamond's house from being involved in the same conflagration, he begged the natives not to set fire to Maré's house, "for if you do," said he, "mine will be burnt also."

"Ah! very well," they replied, tapping their muskets; "but it's good for us to destroy the bad men of the land." And they retreated, leaving the house unmolested.

Maré, in alarm, took refuge beneath Captain Hamond's roof, and entreated him to shield him from the vengeance of those who were hunting him for his life. Fortunately *he* found safety in the shelter of Captain Hamond's house; not so well did it fare with another rebel chief, named Mamoé; he was discovered in all the luxury of helpless drunkenness, and, not to waste powder on him, they knocked his brains out with a stone. If the natives had come in force, such was the consternation and the unprepared state of things, that they would have carried all before them; but it appears to have been the unpremeditated attack of a reckless few, whose indignation overleaped all prudential barriers, on their listening to the recital of the sufferings of one of their companions, who had escaped to the mountains after his liberation from the calliboose. The French now set about the most vigorous measures for defending themselves. Armed parties were employed in clearing away the brush and underwood immediately at the back of the settlement; breast-works

and barricades were raised, by filling casks with earth, and arranging sacks of earth upon the top of these, leaving apertures for firing through. The residents were ordered not to be absent from their houses after sun-down, nor to quit them before gun-fire in the morning, and were directed strictly to confine themselves to the line of defence, a space about a quarter of a mile long, by one hundred yards broad; and those whose houses were situate without this narrow limit had permission to retreat to Motu-iti, the little islet near the entrance to the harbour. Some availed themselves of this retreat, whilst others sought the shelter of the shipping. Those remaining on shore were instructed to keep lights burning in their verandahs throughout the night. For several nights after this, the rattling fire of musketry was kept up with scarcely any cessation; and on *March 24th*, a few natives having been seen approaching from Taonoa, it was quickly rumoured that a large party was coming in that direction, from Faatanua and the encampment at Papenoo, and that another large party were also on their way from the encampment at Puanawia.

The corvette La Fortune, stationed at the Taonoa end of the "line of defence," then opened fire on the beach, and did considerable execution amongst the cocoa-nut trees; she also damaged a house or two by sending shot right through them: and in the middle of the night, hearing the ringing report of cannon, we looked out and beheld one of the English resident's houses in a blaze. The French assert the natives set fire to it. No body of natives came in

from either camp, and it is the opinion of Captain H——, who knows the natives well, and happens to be here, that a few mad-brained fellows, excited by orange rum, are the sole authors of these disturbances. All day long, you may see parties of six and seven on the heights towards Puanawia, who will come down and fire into the blockhouses and barracks in that direction, and then deliberately retire, to reload their pieces. All this takes place in the sight of every one. The natives are as nimble as goats in climbing the hills, and at such work the French would stand no chance with them. It is amusing to watch the latter manœuvring their field-pieces in the blockhouses. They appear reluctant to raise their heads above the walls; and no wonder, as the moment they do so, bang! goes a musket: consequently they are a long time before they can get their guns pointed, and the very instant they are discharged, down the natives run to take a chance crack at them. The nine days topic of wonder is that the Sultana schooner was sent by the governor, who is also commodore of the Uranie, ordering the return of his frigate; but Captain Bonnard refused to evacuate Huaheine, as he wanted first to be revenged upon the natives for the defeat his party had sustained. This refusal to obey orders will show what a pretty jumble of an affair they have made of the protectorate.

April 11*th.*—The Sultana has gone a second time to recall the Uranie, and the chief of the governor's staff went in her, to lend, by his presence, weight to the authoritative missive. Captain Bon-

nard did not feel inclined to disobey this last summons, and immediately after the return of the Uranie, the blockade was publicly announced to be removed from the Leeward Islands. The chief of the staff crossed over to Raiatea, hoping to induce Queen Pomare to come up with him, but she remains firm in her refusal. I hear that she has been heard to exclaim, "that a British ship of war took her from her island, and she will only return to it again in a British ship of war."

April 29th.—The French admiral has again arrived amongst us. I omitted to make entry at the time of an expedition by the boats, a few days ago, to attack Puanawia; when the French were repulsed with loss. It is rumoured that the admiral disapproves exceedingly of the governor's measures, and declines participating in their responsibility. The governor is hurrying preparations for a concentrated attack upon the encampment at Puanawia, with the idea, it is thought, of implicating the admiral, as he could not quit the port while in a state of insecurity.

May 2nd.—Business requiring that one of us should go to Sydney, the lot has fallen upon me.

May 6th.—Bade farewell to my wife; for but a short time I trust. The governor commences his attack upon the natives to-morrow.

May 7th.—An awful day, wind from the north-west, lightning, thunder, and sleet driving with force almost sufficient to deprive you of sight. No day for the French to exercise ball practice on the poor natives.

May 8th.—Becalmed; verifying the old adage,

"after a storm comes a calm." At daylight we were within six miles of Faroa, Raiatea: lowered a boat and pulled in. Pomare was at Uturoa, where trade was beginning to revive. On returning to the schooner we noticed her flag half-mast high, and we only reached her in time to save her. A light breeze springing up, the mate had ventured too close to the reef, and on his attempting to cast her head off shore, the current caught hold of her and was sweeping her broadside into the breakers. The mate was stupified, and had lost all self-command; and it was as much as he could do to find intelligence to comprehend our signals, and the hoarse roar of "Let go your anchor, you fool." One minute later, and she would have been lost. I jumped into a canoe and hastened to the settlement for assistance. Pomare lent me her boats, and I borrowed another, and with eighteen men made for the rescue. Before we could render any service, however, I had the gratification of seeing her inside the reef: a steady sea-breeze having set in, the master lifted his anchor and ran in.

I had a passing interview with Tamatoa and his wife, Tapoa and his wife, and the "old brick," Ariipae. Pomare and her little one were looking well and hearty; she keeps up her spirits wonderfully, and late events do not appear to have lessened her determination. I did not remain long with her, being anxious to get to Huaru before dark.

May 13*th.*— Under weigh for the Navigators' Islands.

May 20*th.*— Sighted "Rose" or Kordakew Island, the easternmost of the "Samoan" or Navigators'

group: it is a small haycock-shaped island. With a fine breeze we ran past Manua, Ofoo, Tutuila, and on *May* 22*nd*, dropped anchor in Apia Harbour, island of Upolu. This island is amazingly fertile; it absolutely revels in the luxury of its vegetation, and it is abundantly supplied with gushing streams of silvery water. The islands of the Samoan group are not so lofty, neither do they rise so abruptly, as the Georgian and Society Isles. Upolu slopes gently to the sea, and the coast inclines with gentle undulations for miles. Nothing can surpass the varied richness of its vegetation. The cocoa-nut tree is every where abundant in thick and extensive groves, and words fail me to convey an idea of its fruitfulness; but its harbours bear no comparison with those of the Queen of the Pacific and sister islands.

It appears to me that a coralline flat extends from the shore all round the island; and the harbours are formed by the rushing of the mountain streams, which have worn gaps, or checked the labours or growth of the zoophytes; consequently they are small: and being on the north part of the island, they are open to the north-west gales, which are the most awful in their violence. But I am told when these gales ensue, they are generally accompanied by heavy rains, which occasion such a rush from the mountain streams, that the rapid current would prevent any vessel's driving ashore. Apia used formerly to be considered the best harbour, and it is the one where the shipping generally resorts; but there is another called Saluafata, fifteen miles to the eastward of it, which is more commodious, and equally

safe, if not more so. The Samoans have not benefited much as yet by their contact with civilised men: they for the most part go naked, with the exception of a kirtle of green leaves fastened round their waists, and reaching to the middle of their thigh. Men and women dress alike. They are a powerful, athletic-looking set of fellows; the chiefs, as is generally the case throughout the islands of Polynesia, being the biggest men, which may be accounted for upon the principle of our breeding prize cattle. From their infancy they are always supplied with the choicest food, and with plenty of it; and having little mental care, and partaking only in those exercises which promote health and vigour of the frame, they thrive corporally in proportion. Their bodies are tattooed from the waist to the knees, like those of the men at Rotumah, whom, in appearance, they greatly resemble. They wear the hair long, and some dye it red by means of burnt coral; and when twisted in a rakish knot at one side of the head, it looks very like a horse's tail tied up. The missionaries have acquired a little ascendancy with some, to whom they have imparted a trifling knowledge of the mechanical arts; but the number of converts is few at present compared with the population, which is roughly estimated at between 50,000 and 60,000. Notwithstanding the visits of whalers and other vessels for so many years past, I was surprised at the little appearance of articles of European manufacture. Wine bottles, for which they will exchange fruit and vegetables, are eagerly sought for, being required to

hold the oil with which they lubricate their bodies. No mother omits to bathe her child every morning, and afterwards to rub its body with scented oil; and they prize bottles because they retain the oil without leakage, which nothing of their own manufacture will do.

The natives, under the directions of the missionary resident at Apia, are building a large stone church about the centre of the harbour, and when completed it will be an imposing building for such workmen. Their houses are fashioned like an inverted ship, the keel corresponding to the ridge pole, the timbers springing from it to the rafters, and the stringer to the wall-plates: they are thatched with grass and an outside coating of a species of palm-leaf, and are exceedingly cool — a great desideratum in a scorching climate.

The American consul has got a store and office in the bay; and a well built two-storied stone house, his private residence, between Apia and Saluafata. It was erected by the natives, assisted by one or two Europeans, the consul himself being architect and superintendent. The walls are two feet thick, and it is delightfully cool, in an elevated situation, commanding a fine prospect of the sea: but the consul tells me he is in dread of earthquakes, as they experienced a shock which so disturbed the level of his house, that they could not entirely close a door or window in it; but some time afterwards came another shock, which restored things to their former position. The country is also infested with a destructive white ant, which, in an incredibly short

space, destroys the wood-work of the buildings. The missionary is residing in a comparatively new house, but the doors and framework are falling to decay from the destructive work of these mischievous insects.

The natives are inspired with a wholesome dread of the French, and are exceedingly averse to leasing or selling their land to foreigners.

The unfortunate British consul had been landed from the Daphne in the most undignified manner. In the first instance sent ashore in a dingy, with two boys, he was, after toiling all day in receiving and assisting at the landing of his goods, informed by the lieutenant, on the last occasion of his quitting the Daphne, that the captain, who was on shore, had left orders that Mr. Pritchard was to be saluted with the number of guns appointed for a consul; *and he was saluted*, and this formed his sole introduction to the chiefs, and his inauguration as representative of British authority. No reasonable hopes could be entertained that Mr. Pritchard would receive any respect or attention after so wanton a violation by the captain of the Daphne of all courteous regard, not only for his own sovereign, but for the nation to whom he was sent to introduce her delegate, and consequently no *great* surprise was elicited when Mr. Pritchard found he could not obtain a roof to shelter his head, nor a spot of land whereon to erect a dwelling; and had it not been for his brother consul, whose hospitality he shared for several months, it must have fared hard with him. Mr. Pritchard is like a fish out of water, and mental suffering has wrought its work upon him: he is reduced one third

in size, his face is withered, and lines you might lay your finger in have ploughed its surface—he is like a tree in autumn, suddenly blasted by a frost.

Two French priests have recently obtained footing on the island, agents of the Propagandist Society, and their eagerness to gain proselytes persuades me that they belong to a body who will scruple at no means to establish themselves. At present they are living with the natives, and conforming to their modes and habits, with jesuitical skill preparing the way for a future display, by a contrast of their power. It is surmised that they belong to a strong party in France, who are endeavouring to effect a revolution in the religious world, and to gain for their church power equal to that once possessed by the head of the Papal Church. Attached to their mission they have a trading store, similar to the store belonging to the same society in Tahiti. Louis Philippe, it is said, is in some way connected with the society; and from his accredited trading propensities it is not unlikely. The society is supported by shareholders; and what a field seems open! and what a speculation—*the trade for souls and worldly wealth and power!* The union appears blasphemous; but Louis Philippe, as one of my father's patients used to say, when speaking of him, "is the man with the long head." He has schemed to get the members of his family mated with the potentates of the earth; he cannot depend upon the love of France, and perhaps he is working to secure the support of a powerful body, who can sway the minds of men, in the event of any opposition to his deeply planned schemes. The idea, however, is fatuous; the men

of France in these enlightened days are not so readily disposed to yield blindly body and soul to the guidance of a fellow-worm. And right too; any attempt on the part of a minister of the gospel to check inquiry ought at once to put us on our guard, and induce us to reject his ministry, as in this exists the proof that it is his will, and not the will of God, that he is desirous we should follow. As yet, the priests in Tahiti have obtained no neophytes; and I became convinced of the nature of the regard they entertained for the spiritual welfare of the natives, by hearing one of them, in the most exulting tone, describe an attack that had been made, in which *several natives* lost their lives, and *not a Frenchman had been wounded.* Their *amor patriæ*, their prideful vanity, in seeing exhibited the GLORY *of France*, has converted them from church militants into military disputants.

May 24th. — Put to sea, ran along Upolu to the westward, and through the passage formed by Apolima and Savaii. Savaii is the largest island of the group, but is destitute of good harbours for shipping. A small cutter arrived thence at Apia the evening before we started, and the master of her reported that war had broken out between two contending parties, one of which having concealed themselves in ambush, rushed out and killed three chiefs on the opposite side. It is difficult to know what they are fighting about. These islands, instead of being each under one sovereign, or head chief, are cut up into countless chieftainships, each chief possessing absolute power over his own district. I was witness to the peaceful termination of a quarrel at Upolu

which was nearly ending in a bloody feud. The men of a district near Saluafata had insulted those residing near Apia; and added further contumely to the injurious language first made use of, by boasting of their deeds, and challenging the outraged party to punish them if they could. War was talked of, and the aspect of affairs was threatening; but the insulting party humbled themselves, and a deputation of them appeared in the district of the offended chief, and prostrated themselves, and presented mats (the money of the country) as an atonement. On this occasion the chiefs and elders of the district assembled to consider whether they should accept the offering or declare war. When I arrived at the scene they were seated in semicircular rows on the beach, beneath the shade of a superb grove of umbrageous trees, and a dozen old men, orators of the district, were standing up in a line in front, with long white wands in their hands.

After making a decent display of the right or equal privilege that each had to conduct the proceedings of the day, first one retired, and then another, till only two were left standing. It was well known who was going to address the meeting, but this ceremony was gone through that each orator might support the pretensions of his own hamlet. Peace had been decided on by the junta; and having heard what was to be the result, I grew tired of the ceremony, and passed on by making a wide circuit, as it is considered one of the greatest insults that can be offered to pass through or near a council convened in deliberation. The atoning party were grouped opposite the council, and on the side farthest from their

own district. One thing struck me as indicative of the industrious habits of the people — almost every person had his bundle of cocoa-nut-husk fibres with him, with which he continued silently to manufacture sennet; and many of them had tame pigeons or wood-doves, tethered by the leg to a wand, and now and then they would jerk the bird into the air and hold out the wand for it to resume its perch. I also noticed the strict observance of humility which the chiefs exact from the lower people; the latter, on approaching them, crouch to the earth, and dare not carry themselves erect in their presence.

Apolima is an islet shaped like a horse-shoe, the curve opening to the westward, with a conical rock, not unlike a sugar-loaf, off the centre of the bight. We looked in, and could distinguish houses above the glowing sandy beach between the dense fringe of cocoa-nut trees; and the passing glimpse we had showed us that the little isle was crowned with fertility. Between Apolima and Upolu there is a smaller islet, called Manona. Vessels may take this passage, there being no hidden dangers.

June 5th. — Sighted Walpole Island. It is small and low, similar in appearance to the Hervey Group Isles. We supposed it to be thickly wooded, but were not close enough to determine accurately.

June 6th. — We were in hopes to have weathered New Caledonia and the reefs to the southward of it, but the wind buffeted us, and brought us in sight of the Isle of Pines. We stood on till we saw the surf on the beach, and naked objects moving to and fro. Judging from the view we had, the extreme length of the island is north and south. It attains the

altitude of 2000 feet or more, and stretches by easy descent into two long low points, till at the northern extremity the trees appear to rise from the water. The low ranges of the land are covered with lofty pine trees, from which, doubtless, the island receives its name. The natives kindled a fire on the north-east side, where there is a good harbour, but they have had so many cruelties practised amongst them by the sandal wood hunters from Sydney, that we had no desire to add to the list of atoning sacrifices.

June 17th. — Howe's Island discernible in the distance. Since leaving the Isle of Pines we have been jammed "hard upon a wind."

June 21st. — Encountered a furious gale from the south-west, which compelled us to heave to.

June 22nd. — Land in sight: we expected we had been driven to the northward of our port, and so it proved; at noon we discovered ourselves abreast of Port Hunter. The wind continuing violent and contrary, at my suggestion, the captain ran in and anchored in Newcastle Harbour. The breakwater is nearly completed from Nobbie's to the Main, and although it may afford protection to the harbour, it is contended that the sand-banks are increasing; the deposits formed by the set of the River Hunter not having the outlet to the ocean they formerly had. Small as our schooner was (fifty tons), we found ourselves, on making a tack, embedded in the slimy mud. She sustained no damage and was hauled off by a kedge into a safe berth. The inhabitants of Newcastle had petitioned the government that their port might be declared free to receive imports direct; the

governor visited it in person, and subsequently their petition was accorded: the announcement of it having appeared in the journals a day or two previous to our arrival. Great increase of commerce, it is anticipated, will follow this freedom of the port; to me it appears pretty much the same as granting permission to a fisherman to cast his nets into a pond where no fish existed. No vessel of any burthen, except a steamer, can enter Port Hunter without a fair wind, and under any circumstances it is difficult of ingress and egress. With the exception of the breakwater, I see no alteration or improvement in Newcastle since my visit six years ago.

June 23rd.— The wind still adverse, I availed myself of the company's steamers, and at eleven A.M. we were outside Nobbie's, reaching Sydney about seven P.M.

In the immediate township of Sydney I did not perceive much change, but in the suburbs wonderful alterations have taken place; large townships have sprung up, and where, six years since, barren tracts of deep snow-white sand glared upon the eye, and scorched the feet of the toiling traveller, villages and hamlets have taken their stand. It surpasseth my comprehension. The colony is only just emerging from a state of general bankruptcy in which it has been involved for the last five years, and yet I will venture to assert, that in no five years since its foundation could it boast an equal amount of erections and improvements. John Bull is like the goose that continued to lay golden eggs for the benefit of any one but herself.

CHAP. VI.

On the way to Tahiti. — Sight the Three Kings and Rurutu. — Land on Rurutu, and obtain further Particulars of the Island. — Ingenuity of a Native. — A neuralgic Headache prevents further Exertion. — Arrival in Papeeti. — Sail for Raiatea. — Ill-treatment of Pomare by her Husband. — Arrival of the Frigate Grampus. — Make an Excursion to the Encampment at Papenoo, to try and induce the Natives to submit to Circumstances, and save further Effusion of Blood. — Result of the Attempt. — Sail for New Zealand in the Barque Janet. — Call at Huâheine, now a Scene of Desolation. — Renewed Acquaintance with the Navigators' Islands, and more Particulars. — Sight Islands little known. — Arrive at Bay of Islands. — Overland Excursion to Hokianga. — Some Particulars of the War with Ioni Heke. — The Country on the Route described. — Directions for entering Hokianga from the Sea.— A Kaori Forest killed by Fire. — Cross the Country to the Bay of Islands. — The Country on Fire. — Perilous Travelling. — Return to Tahiti. — Pomare and her People had at length submitted to the Protectorate. — Arrival of Monsieur Lavand to succeed Monsieur Bruat as Governor. — Departure of the Uranie for France. — Bound for Valparaiso. — The Island of Toobuai. — High Island, or Raivavai. — Another fortunate Escape from Wreck. — The Coast on the Main to the northward and southward of Valparaiso. — An Earthquake. — Again sight Ambrose and Felix Islands on the return Voyage to Tahiti. — The Marquesas Isles. — Resolution Bay. — Island of Oaitahu. — Nukuhiva, its Harbour, &c. — Sight Manihi. — Oahe and Aratua, low Islands of the Paumutu Group. — A ludicrous Incident. — Arrival in Tahiti.

"Huzza, for Otaheite!"
Cry of the Mutineers of the Bounty.

July 18th. — WITH considerable satisfaction I once more saw myself bounding "o'er the glad waters of the dark blue sea," on my way to Tahiti.

July 29*th.*—The Three Kings are dimly visible, looking as if desirous of mizzling in the gloomy fog that invests us. The voyage thus far is noticeable only for its great discomfort,—the vessel has never had a dry deck, and a chilling dampness pervades every thing.

August 14*th.*—Made an island in the position assigned on the chart to "Rimitara," but lo! on heaving to, off the south by west end of it, a canoe came to us, and I found, as I had before suspected, that it was an old acquaintance, to wit, Rurutu. The greatest length of Rurutu I conjectured to be about seven miles, in west by north half north, and east by south half south direction: its character is that of the Society Isles, on a smaller scale; its greatest elevation I imagine does not exceed 2000 feet. On its western side, trending southerly, there are some remarkable isolated rocky fragments, that must have been hurled there by some extraordinary convulsion, as they are detached from the beach, where they lie. There are only two landing places for boats on the island, one on the north-west, and the other on the south by west side. The former I thought bad enough on my first visit, but the latter is infinitely worse, and from our ignorance we were nearly losing the boat; for the crest of a wave caught us, and but for the timely assistance of a native, who jumped into the sea opportunely to our aid, we should have been smashed upon the rocks.

I opened trade for *live* stock, but owing to recent visits from other vessels, business was not *particularly lively*. The chief of the district, in his patriotic

desire to secure to his island all the European trade that he could, advised my trying the other settlement. As it was then nearly dark, I agreed to pass the night with him, whilst the vessel stood off and on, and see what the morrow would produce. From former observations, and those I now made, I am of opinion that the natives of Rurutu are less given to unbridled sensuality than most of the inhabitants of islands in the Pacific. Whether it is owing to the absence of low white loafers, who pander for European visitors, or to the paucity of women compared with men, or to the lessons of the missionaries, who in their visits cannot remain on shore sufficiently long to destroy, by their deeds, the force of their doctrines, or to all these circumstances combined (which is most probable), certain it is that the women are jealously watched, and much order prevails in the settlements. I was amused at witnessing the ingenuity and industry displayed by one of the natives. He had been to the island of Raiatea, and had learned from Captain H—— the process of sugar-making, and on returning to his own country, he constructed a mill entirely by his own unaided skill. The rollers, three in number, were made out of the aito or iron wood; they were set vertically, and worked on a spindle, the cogs for turning them being pieces of wood let into the upper ends of the rollers; the trough for carrying off the juice was dubbed out of a solid slab, and the apparatus was turned by two strong bars, crossing each other at the centre, where they were secured by strong lashings to the shaft from the centre roller,

furnishing four ends to heave by. There was not a nail or a piece of iron used in the whole construction. For boiling the juice, he had got a whaler's try-pot, which he had cemented into a rude, but strong mass of stone-work built over a cavity hollowed for the purpose. I purchased some of his sugar, and have seen much worse manufactured by those pretending to a scientific knowledge of the art. The natives here were in great perturbation from the accounts that had reached them respecting the movements of the French. The proximity of their neighbourhood alarms them, as they fear that some day they will frame a pretext for seizing their island.

August 15th.—After a night passed restlessly, from the attacks of innumerable "light cavalry," as we used to call them in New Zealand, I arose at "peep of day" to lave my flea-bitten carcass in one of the running streams. Refreshed by this act of purification, and freed from the company that had so annoyed me, I strolled about the island. It is rich in vegetable productions, and rejoices in many springs of limpid water that issue from the hills; it is a real ocean emerald. I purchased several boat-loads of yams, bananas, sweet potatoes, cocoa-nuts, &c., and a few pigs; and was about crossing the island, when I was seized with one of those inscrutable headaches I am occasionally subject to, and which deprive me of all power of exertion. I was glad to get on board with the last boat, there to do my dread twelve mortal hours, being the usual time allotted me to undergo agony scarcely to be surpassed. Neuralgic headaches the faculty term them.

"Your system is an exceedingly nervous one," said a medical man to me one day, when I was suffering from headache; and he imparted to my temples a shock from a galvanic battery, nearly causing my eyes to leap from my head, and giving me an idea, that its whole internal structure was in ruins: "Bless me! I never saw a person with nerves so numerously developed."

It may be, doctor, but you certainly did not do them any good.

August 25th. — Entered Papeeti Harbour. The French, during my absence, had sustained another severe check from the natives; the commander of the troops had been killed, the chief of the staff had lost his leg, many others had been killed and wounded, and I heard from the chief of the staff's own lips, that had there been any one to have led the natives, not a Frenchman would have returned alive from Puanawia.

August 31st. — Sailed for Raiatea to fetch my wife from her father's care. I did not call to see Pomare, as I had no pleasing intelligence to convey. It is reported that Ariifaite, her husband, treats her very cruelly, because she will not submit to the French and return to Tahiti. On more than one occasion, she has been compelled to fly to others for protection against his brutality. When taxed with his cowardly inhuman conduct, he at first denied it, but subsequently confessed, "that when he was first married to Pomare, he was only a boy, and she used to beat him; and why shouldn't he beat her now?" Ariifaite, like his father, is an awful fellow for

ardent spirits, and when under their influence is capable of any excess.

The Salamander had been ordered home; and she was gone on my return from Sydney, after a stay in Papeeti prolonged over two yearly changes of the seasons.

September 28th. — H. M. S. Grampus came to-day to take breathing spell in the quiet waters of Tahiti. She occupies the Salamander's station. I waited upon Captain Martin. He avowed that his arrival amongst us was from no political motive, made light of Mr. Pritchard's claims for indemnification, and gave it as his unqualified opinion, that the French had got Tahiti, and would keep it; and "that I might just as rashly expect a pension of 10,000*l.* a year from Lord Palmerston, as that our Government would renew any further correspondence with France respecting Tahiti, or interfere in any way between her and Queen Pomare." Our experience for the last four years tending to confirm these sentiments, I resolved on making an effort to induce the natives to write to their queen, and submit to their fate. To this end I solicited a *pass* from the governor to visit the encampment at Papenoo. This was readily granted, as the governor said he was ready to avail himself of any overtures or mediations that might bring about peace, and stay the effusion of blood; but of course I acted entirely on my own responsibility, as he could not interfere in any way further than granting me the passport to clear his outposts.

October 5th. — The passport was made for myself and two ladies, as I mentioned my intention of

taking my wife and her sister with me, not only to act as interpreters; but as Variau, the chief woman in the encampment, was my wife's foster-mother, I thought it not improbable, that a plain statement coming from her of Pomare's position, and of the utter hopelessness of any longer resistance on their part, would have some influence. We started at dawn, but on reaching Point Venus, the wind came with such strength from the eastward, that we could not prosecute our journey further by the boat, which we beached, and continued our way on foot. This proved a dreadfully fatiguing jaunt to the ladies, and one I never dreamed of exposing them to. By the time we arrived at the river from which the encampment takes its name, they were completely exhausted, and I was little prepared for what was to follow.

The natives had sentinels and advanced posts like the French; and it is a wonder to me how, from the difficult nature of the country, they ever suffered the latter to commit the devastation they have done. Not a house, and scarcely a bread-fruit tree, is left standing from Taonoa to Papenoo. In certain districts, whole groves of bread-fruit trees have been girdled, and they now, with bleached and leafless limb, offer mournful testimony of the downfall of their country. We were stopped at the different outposts after we had passed the French picquets, and challenged as to the cause of our journeying. On explaining that I had business with their chiefs, we were suffered to pass on. Variau happened not to be at the foot of the encampment where we halted;

she was twelve hours' journey in the mountains. They engaged to send for her if I would wait, as from the late heavy rains the river was so swollen and rapid, it was utterly impossible for the ladies to proceed up it.

The chiefs present demanded the purport of my visit. I entered into details, and pointed out how hopeless it was to expect that the French would leave their island, and how impracticable the task for them to expel them; and I assured them, that Pomare's act in putting her name to the letter asking protection from the King of the French, put it out of the power of England to interfere.

One of the chiefs rejoined, "We know that England will not assist us, the admiral told us so, long ago; she never did us any good, and we have long ceased to look to her for help; our only trust *now* is in God, and to him we pray night and day for aid."

They turned a deaf ear to all I had to say; and one of the inferior speakers had the assurance to tell me "to go back to the place from whence I came, and to carry my speakers with me;" and he finished with this pithy conclusion,—"That's all I have to say."

"Who is that man," said I, starting up, "who presumes to address me in this style? is he a chief?"

"Never mind him! never mind him! he's only speaker to ——" (name I don't remember), entreated one of the chiefs, catching me by the arm.

"Well, I came here to talk with chiefs, and not to be spoken to by a man like that."

I intended trying what effect an interview with Variau might produce, when the imprudent interference of my boat-steerer spoiled all; before I had the slightest idea of his intentions, he stepped forward and said, "I see how it is, you don't care any thing about your queen, and you want to lose your lands and your lives too." It was electrical, the burst of passion that followed this rash speech.

"Dog, that you are! We don't care for our queen? *What are we bleeding for?* For what have we lost our houses, our food, our best and our bravest?" It was my turn now to become the beseeching party, and I begged the chief to take no notice of the foolish words of my servant. At this he drew himself up with dignity, and retired from the altercation. But my man was not to escape so easily; others of the assembly handled him, and threatened to lay him dead at their feet. I was necessitated to interpose personally to save him from the consequences of his folly; and such was the fierce violence of their words and gestures, that my wife, frightened beyond measure, could not be reassured, and insisted, fatigued as she was, on instantly leaving the place. The chiefs were greatly chagrined at this, as the duties of hospitality are highly revered amongst them. "See what you have done," said I, "by your fierce talk. Variau's child has come this long way to see her, and you frighten her away: here, let this* be sent to her; say it is from her child, and tell her that we came here in love for you all,

* A piece or two of print, prized by the natives.

but that you, in anger, have driven us away." They were earnest in their entreaties that we should *rest* and *take food*, if we only remained for a short time; but no, I could tell by the tremulousness which thrilled my wife's frame as she clung to me, that we had better be on the move, and I imagined also that my exit being more in sorrow than in anger, would have its beneficial effect. Slowly we turned and recommenced our painful travel. The natives, as we journeyed, came up with quivering lip to ascertain the result of our interview. When informed, they appeared deeply affected and disappointed; but it was clearly to be seen, that their determination was bound up in the will of their chiefs. It was nearly midnight before we gained our home, the darkness and the intricacy of the passage between the coral reefs from Point Venus having obliged us to take the sea-board; and never I believe was any unfortunate lady more wayworn and foot-foundered than my poor little wife (her sister being much stronger, suffered less inconvenience). I waited next morning on the governor; who regretted the hardships the ladies had been exposed to, but seemed to think that the journey would not be thrown away, as the natives would feel, more sensibly than ever, the inutility of trusting to reliances on foreign aid.

November 25th.—Having entered into a speculation to proceed to New Zealand for a cargo of timber, to-day we set sail in the barque Janet, of 400 tons. My wife accompanies me, and we intend touching at the Navigators' Islands.

November 26th.—We lay to last night, to afford me

the opportunity of going ashore at Huaheine. The French have made a complete waste of the pretty settlement; there is scarcely a house standing, and the trees have been chopped down and destroyed in the same wanton manner as noticed on the route to Papenoo: the principal of the inhabitants were away at the encampment. It is a feature in the character of the natives worth recording, that, although they have suffered so much from the hands of the French, having been rendered houseless and destitute, and sustained the loss of many of their number, they are far from entertaining feelings of deadly hatred, or a savage thirst for revenge against their oppressors. There was no display of anger or ferocity as they pointed out the injuries the French had so causelessly inflicted upon them, and they smiled mournfully as we shook our heads at the desolate scene. From Huaheine we stood across to Raiatea, which we reached the same afternoon. We hove to whilst I landed my wife's sister at her father's residence. I made no stay, and we were soon clear of the land on our route to the Navigators'.

December 8th.—Renewed my acquaintance with Kordakew, or Rose Island. We ran close to it and sailed half round it. It is, as before stated, small and clump-shaped, and I now noticed it to be well covered with trees and shrubs, and girdled by a coral reef. From the mast-head I could discern its whole extent; the water was of a deep blue inside the reef, but I could see no passage through the reef, although I am told that an opening large enough to admit small vessels does exist. I think my informant was mis-

taken. The island is not inhabited. Manua Oloosinga and Tutuila were visible this evening, and to-morrow we trust, if the wind holds, to be at our anchorage.

December 10*th.*—Came to an anchor at Apia. The captain lost no time in discharging what cargo he had to deliver, and on *December* 12th we again made sail. Mr. Pritchard had succeeded in obtaining very precarious tenure of a piece of land, on which he had erected a small dwelling and store-house; but he was subject to many insults and annoyances, which probably would have been spared him had the captain of the Daphne adopted the proper method of installing him representative of England's queen. He is greatly to be pitied; exiled in the decline of life from a career of busy usefulness, and doomed to pass his days without occupation in neglect, it would not be wonderful if brooding thought, with all its train of recollections and regrets, should impair his mental, as well as bodily faculties. "It is hard to teach an old dog new tricks," and the human mind is just as little susceptible of bearing fresh impressions, where these call for a violent rupture of all the habits and associations of the best period of life. A wounded stag will be gored to death by his fellows, and a porpoise struck with the harpoon will be drowned by his companions; and because Mr. Pritchard has been treated ill by one country, *his own* thinks it necessary to keep up the ball, by forcing him into banishment from every thing that tends to make life agreeable. Alas! poor Pritchard.

Strong dews, heavier than I have experienced in

any part of the world, fall after sundown at the Navigators'. We are all suffering from severe cold, from sleeping incautiously with the ports open.

December 13th.—Sighted Boscawen's Island, but at such a distance we were unable to note other particulars, than that it was high land of conical formation.

December 16th. — In latitude 18° 46′ S., or thereabouts (for the horizon was by no means clear at meridian altitude), and longitude 175° 20′, two islands were in sight. The first, bearing east by north three quarters north, distant ten leagues, was a small but bold island; the other which bore south-east by south half south, distant about thirteen leagues, was considerably larger, and much more lofty, rising to a sharp peak in its centre; we judged it to be from 3000 to 4000 feet high. "Lati" is the name on the charts for one of a group of islands about this position; but we find very few of the small islands laid down in the general chart accurately placed. In the evening another island became visible, apparently at no great distance from the one last alluded to, but farther to the eastward and southward; it appeared a flat island, and not nearly so lofty as the others.

December 29th. — Early this morning we beat our way into the Bay of Islands. The settlement at Kororarika has been completely destroyed by the hostile natives; new stores are beginning to show themselves, and buildings are in progress, but jumbled together in the same old independent style, without the slightest regard to uniformity. Kororarika never could boast much pretension to architectural beauty

or arrangement, but it now looks as elegant as a Maori mat patched with calico.

Ioni Heke, the Maori chief at the head of the party opposed to the British, talks of making another irruption, and of again destroying and plundering the houses so soon as sufficient property shall be collected to pay him for his trouble. There are 200 troops at the Wahapu, which is at the entrance of the Kawa-kawa; but I imagine, if they were so disposed, the natives could easily destroy all the houses at Kororarika, before the troops could come to the assistance of the residents.

December 30*th.* — Started overland for Hokianga. The formation of the country I traversed is just such as one would imagine the bed of the ocean would present were the sea suddenly to dry up; it is thrown into waves and ridges, as if, when in a liquid state, it had been troubled with mighty convulsions, which had suddenly become arrested and rendered rigid. This is more particularly observable on the route from the bay to Waimete, a distance of about fifteen miles, the country being nearly denuded of trees, and for the most part covered with a close dry stunted fern (proclaiming the poverty of the soil); and as you skirt wave after wave of land, you have nothing to relieve the sight but the swampy bottoms. Waimete itself is a pleasant district, and offers an exception to the general description. It is a missionary station, and for three or four miles the country is of more level character, and under cultivation; fields of wheat and enclosed paddocks, in which fine cattle were grazing, gratified the eye, and occasional glimpses of the

pointed spire of a church as I neared the station gave assurance to my tired legs of rest and shelter for the night. It was late when I arrived, but happily I found a hospitable reception in a settler's cottage. About four miles from Waimete is one of Heke's pahs, where the British were repulsed with loss; it is near the inland sheet of water, called Mawhe. My guide pointed out to me the spot where many of my countrymen fell; and from what I heard, I could only wonder at the insane folly of a commander ordering up his men to be shot without the prospect of deriving any benefit from the sacrifice. The Maories were protected by a strong palisade, impervious to musket balls, from behind which they could shoot our poor fellows with deliberate security, who could only obey orders, and fall when the bullets prostrated them. If what those who were present on the occasion told me be true, Don Quixote, in his madness infatuate, when he attacked the windmills, was scarcely less guilty of folly than was our commander, who ordered up his men to be slaughtered as if he considered their bodies invulnerable to lead discharged from muskets in the hands of dark-skinned men. It is said that he had some field-pieces with him, but instead of, by concentrated fire, endeavouring to effect a breach in the palisades, he, in the spirit, (I suppose) of English fair-play, disseminated his shot as equally as he could, disdaining to take advantage of a handful of black fellows. And "now, my men, go and take possession; I don't care how you do it—you may gnaw your way through, or use the butt end of your muskets—but go!" What

followed? They went, and were slain. Unfortunately, Colonel Despard did not head the men himself, or probably he would have changed the fortunes of the day, or, what is still more likely, have made room for a more sagacious leader. I am assured by the oldest residents, that, had it not been for the diversion created in our favour by Nene, or Tamata Waka, a chief devoted to our interests, and who, by an attack on the rear caused Heke to fly, not a white man would have been left alive on the northern island. It is a good saying, *audi alteram partem.* I know nothing of Colonel Despard, nor did I take part in his exploits; but I have conversed with those that did; and if accounts are not exaggerated, instead of being knighted for competency in inditing a despatch, he ought to have been *benighted* with an *extinguisher*, in the same way that we honour a useless rushlight.

It is bad policy to allow savages to obtain the first advantage, as it gives them an overweening opinion of their own power, which it requires many an after lesson of severity to efface. An armistice exists at present; but the varlets speak of us in the most contemptuous terms, and imagine that 1000 Maories in the field are worth ten times that number of European troops. Now, if our attack had been postponed until it could have made the Maories effectually convinced of the superiority of our tactics, New Zealand might at this moment have been in the enjoyment of peace, free from the fear of interruption.

Mawhe is a sheet of any thing but pellucid water, resembling in colour ship pea-soup. There are some

boiling springs in this neighbourhood, but I had not time to visit them. Not many miles from Heke's pah we came up with one occupied by Nene and his men at the time they arrived so effectually to our assistance: both pahs are now deserted. From Nene's pah our route led us through a dense forest district, over abrupt ridges, and through deep gullies, impassable in the rainy seasons. The narrow foot track worn over the twisted roots of trees, knotted and entangled, making it ticklish walking for the Rozinante I had hired at Waimete, five or six miles of delectable travelling, wherein I expected every moment either that my raw-boned brute would break his leg or my neck, brought us to a water-course, called Waihou. From the long and unusual drought that had prevailed, this course was now easily fordable; but the torn banks indicated the impetuous force of the torrent when swollen by the rains and the thousand rills which would then lend their tributary aid. By following the windings of this course, by crossing it and recrossing it from twenty to thirty times, we at length arrived at what is termed the head of Hokianga river. My guide did not accompany me in my watery meanderings; but giving me instructions, consisting of a wave of the hand, and the ejaculation "there!" he would dart off through the almost impervious forest jungle spreading abruptly from either side the Waihou, and intercept me at places where he suspected I should be at fault. My plan was, to continue wading till I could wade no further, and

then to cross the stream and pursue the banks till I could commence wading again. The river had as many turnings as there are quirks in the law; and I, in it, resembled a suit in chancery — *in, safe enough,* but it was impossible to foresee when I was to be *out* again. In the last of my dubious crossings, my guide, who, in the tranquil enjoyment of his pipe, was waiting my appearance, took my horse by the bridle, and by a blind path, through an inland cut of three miles, led me to the river head. Independent of Waihou, several other streams help to form what is called the river Hokianga, and which, under this cognomen, does not extend above thirty-five miles from the sea. The tributary branches possess each its independent appellative. The Hokianga is impregnated by the tidal influence of the sea throughout its whole extent, but at low ebb the water is fit for use at the head of the river.

Two Englishmen have taken up their abode here, known commonly as Frank and Dick: they are sawyers, and have coupled in work for the last twenty years; and what is exceedingly rare for sawyers, have sustained the character of being quiet, industrious, and sober men. I engaged one of these to convey me in his canoe to my destination, eight or nine miles lower down. It was past eleven o'clock P. M. when he reached it; and, as it was the last day of the old year, I sat up with my host to welcome the new one in, which we did by salutation from a carronade. Having made arrangements for a cargo of kaori spars, I wrote for the captain of the Janet to bring his vessel round.

The pilot's house is situated in a sandy bight, on the south side of the river, near the heads, and furnishes a very good mark for vessels to enter by. It is painted white, and is conspicuous at a long distance; and in order to take the best channel, a vessel should get the pilot's house to bear in a line with the black rocks appearing off the south head. The shoalest water we found, by attending to these directions, was something less than four fathoms: this was at first-quarter flood.

As you approach the river from the sea, the coast wears a peculiar aspect; and it seems incredible how, once seen, any other part of the coast could be mistaken for it. A low range of yellow sand hills appears shut in between two bold headlands. The apparent southern extreme of the sand hills is the opening to the river.

The country on either side the Hokianga consists of steep ridges of land inaccessible to the plough, and is so thickly covered with trees, bush, and scrub, that the expense of clearing an acre would amount to more than it was worth. It is very sparsely inhabited by Maories; and when the kaori timber is exhausted, this district will become valueless, as it will then be unable to furnish any thing for exportation. Mr. Russell, the gentleman with whom I contracted for the cargo, has, at a great expense, laid out for himself a beautiful spot: his garden is in the English style, and he has collected many English plants, flowers, shrubs, &c. But the money he has sunk seems as misplaced as silks and satins would be on a farmer's girl going to feed pigs.

There are a few other English settlers on the river, who can by cultivation supply their wants for food; but as for raising any thing for exportation, it is out of the question. They have all been more or less engaged in collecting kaori timber and gum. The latter article of commerce has proved a failure, it is not worth more than the value of its freight to England; and timber is getting so scarce, that in less than twenty years Mr. Russell thinks it will become exhausted. This gentleman is the lessee of a considerable kaori forest, and I accompanied him in a survey of it: when to our amazement we found every tree killed by fire. I have already made allusion to the unusual dryness of the season; and it appears that Mr. Russell having engaged Frank and Dick to split shingles in the forest, the men went to kindle a fire to dress their food without first taking the precaution of clearing away a spot, when the fire communicated with the dry grass and underwood, and running along with inconceivable rapidity, soon wrapped the whole forest in a blaze, and for miles not a kaori tree has been spared. The men fled affrighted from the devastation they had unintentionally caused, only too happy to have escaped with their lives. One immense tree had been prostrated, and was consuming like a furnace; it was held in a sort of veneration by the natives, and by them called kaori roa (the great kaori). Many large trees had fallen, but the generality of them were standing, although scathed and killed. The commercial value of the timber is not deteriorated, nor will be, if the trees are not allowed to stand over four or five years; but there are thousands

of small trees destroyed, of no commercial value at the present time, but which has for ever ruined the prospect of future supplies.

The country is on fire in all directions; and having had occasion, whilst the vessel was being loaded to cross over to the bay, instead of following the water-course of the Waihou, I took another direction, called the Paramatta road. Shortly after leaving the Hokianga, I passed through a vale about four miles in extent. There were several kaingas in it; and I noticed a variety of fruit trees and patches of waving yellow wheat; the peach tree, and raspberry bush were growing wild. The natives were not numerous, and there seemed to be fully as much land under cultivation as would serve to supply their wants; and it is quite necessary that there should be, for the vale is ripped up with water-courses, and surrounded by such broken, precipitous, densely wooded hills, that communication with it in the rainy or winter season must be next to impracticable. This route led me into what is called the "Long Bush," which, after a scramble of five or six miles, brought me out near Nene's pah. The "Long Bush" is the upper road from Waimete to Hokianga, and the only one that can be travelled in the winter season. Road did I term it? that ever name should be so perverted! I really am at a loss for any epithet appropriate for the blind, rugged, broken, in-and-out, up-and-down, wretched track, villanously misnamed a road, which for twelve long miles twists like an eel, with every conceivable sinuosity, over the roots of trees, the interstices between, even in this

unprecedentedly dry season, being full of treacherous soft black mud, "taking you in" up to your knees with every unguarded step. I avoided the greater portion of this twelve miles by keeping a middle *road, parbleu!* which differs from "Long Bush," as much, I presume, as purgatory does from t'other place. And surely it was a small taste of purgatory that I was experiencing, for the whole bush was on fire, and it almost required the lungs of a salamander to breathe the atmosphere. But independent of the difficulty of respiration, I was kept in continual dread of some large tree falling and crushing me and my horse; and my poor beast's feet became so heated by plunging and floundering through the burning ashes, that more than once I thought I should be compelled to abandon him to be roasted, whilst I effected my escape, like the Maori guide, by *dancing from root to root.* Suddenly we were brought to a stand still—one of the burning giants of the forest crashed across our way; here was a "pretty go." It was a scene worth seeing for once, but rather an expensive gratification. We had to force and cut our way through the intricate lacing of the charred and matted jungle. I resigned the horse to the guide, and though I kept as close to him as I could, and a horse is no impalpable object, I was obliged to continue bawling for a clue to the mazes of this most awful *road.* On emerging from my difficulties, I was qualified by my appearance to "join the jovial ragged crew," or the "Chummie's Society."

Governor Grey had visited the bay in the interval of my last being there; he had spoken in terms of

encouragement to the settlers, and had left instructions for the soldiers stationed at the Wahapu, to be removed to Kororarika: there is some sense in this measure, for I should be glad if any one could point out the utility of their stay at the Wahapu. Heke arrived at the bay whilst the governor was there. The latter expected to receive a visit from Heke; but fearing treachery, or, as chief of the soil, conceiving that it was the duty of the governor first to wait upon him, Heke did not go on board; and the governor departed without an interview having taken place between them. The governor's lady, with the curiosity derived from mother Eve, and not being restrained by the same motives that withheld her lord, went to see the renowned chief in one of her rambles ashore, I am told; but this furnished Heke with no guarantee of good faith, and he did not return the visit.

February 5th (*Thursday*). — Having completed taking in our cargo, we dropped down the river to the heads, to get our water and be ready for a start. It blew a hard gale of wind from the north-west soon after we had come to an anchor, which prevented any of us moving from the vessel till Sunday, when I went ashore at the pilot's. The North Head, like that at the river Waikato, is a dreary waste of sand hills; the south is a bold bluff, on which the flagstaff stands. I was informed there was a good practicable round along the beach from the North Head to the "North Cape" and another from the South Head to Kaiapara.

February 10th. — The pilot came on board last

night, and between five and six this morning we took the bar and proceeded to sea. There was no swell or ripple upon the bar, nor had we the slightest difficulty. In going to sea it is advisable to have the tide contrary to the wind, that in the event of the latter failing, the flood-tide may sweep you back to a safe anchorage. We started with the first quarter-flood, and per consequence found less than four fathoms water. We had a tedious passage, owing to the obstinacy of the captain, who, contrary to advice, persisted in standing to the southward. He was warned that, after strong westerly gales, the wind invariably came round from the southward, and remained constant for a few days. But no! he would have his own way; and after losing between two and three days close hauled, had the luxury of retracing his route. I never met with a stronger instance of the penny-wise and pound-foolish class. This notable gentleman wanted to stand through Cook's Straits, because, forsooth, he could send his boat into Port Nicholson and procure a few bolts of canvass, which he thought he could buy cheaper there than at Taĥiti.

It was *March 22nd* before we were again floating in the still basin of Papeeti. Great changes had been effected during my absence: the natives had at length submitted, and Pomare had returned to her island. Her long and heroic resistance, so long as the dimmest shadow of hope rested in her bosom, yielded at last, when it was crushed out of her by cruelty and neglect, and the persecutions of her own husband. Nor were her subjects a whit

too early in tendering their submission; for a few days after they had done so, and an act of general amnesty had been declared, rains — so unprecedentedly heavy prevailed that the earth opened her fountains, and the mountains sent forth their torrents, and the whole of the fortifications in the encampment were washed away; and probably had the natives been still encamped, they would have perished with their works.

May 21*st.* — Monsieur Lavaud, with his wife, son, &c., arrived in the frigate Sirène. Monsieur Lavand comes to succeed Monsieur Bruat as governor, who has been promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, and returns without loss of time to France, in his frigate the Uranie.

A grand review of the troops was held, and Rear-Admiral Bruat proclaimed his successor, and resigned his sword of office. Ex-Governor Bruat is an officer, and a brave one, and doubtless devoted to his profession; and what is that profession? is it not the art of destroying a foe with as little loss to friends as possible? What is a warrior's delight? is it not to encounter difficulties and overcome them? War is the most exciting of all games, as the stake played for is human life; and military and naval men are decidedly not those best adapted for governors of commercial colonies. Their minds must naturally revert to former studies, and to the achievements, misnamed glorious, performed by men in arms; and doubtless they burn for the opportunity of emulating those deeds which have gained for their authors the title of *heroes*. But I won't moralise.

May 31*st.*—The Uranie is outside the reef, and the ex-governor and his family are on their way to France. The new governor's manners are cordial and hearty, and he seems desirous of conciliating the good-will of the English; but these are early times to venture an opinion. Pomare gave expression to a very pertinent remark. She was on a visit to our place, and I asked her how she liked the new governor, remarking that he was supposed to be a good man. "Do you in England look upon a man as a good man because he shakes hands with every one?" was her observant answer. She says but little, and is particularly guarded in what little she does say.

August 18*th.*—Business calling me to Valparaiso, I took passage for my wife and myself on board the British schooner Sarah Ann, a vessel of 190 tons. After eight days' rocking we reached the island of Toobuai, where I went ashore. The island is from fifteen to twenty miles in circumference, and belted with a coral girdle: three small islets stand off its eastern extremity. The harbour is on the north-north-west side; but there having been a long prevalence of southerly winds, the sea was so still on the reef, that the schooner might have gone over it to an anchorage. The island rises by easy ascent to considerable altitude, accessible to its highest summit, and spontaneously producing arrow-root on all its sloping sides. This was the cause of a brilliant illumination on the night we made the land; the natives having set fire to the long dry grass clothing the exterior of the mountainous slopes, for the purpose of allowing

the arrow-root to thrive, the most elevated point was sheeted with flame, and the sky reflected the ruddy glare. The land from the sea to where the mountainous formation commences is low and swampy, and is divided by the natives into sections of tara patches. A ridge of earth raised above the level of the swamp encloses the patch of each proprietor: the whole island is laid out in this way. The villages are close to the beach, and the land for 200 or 300 fathoms immediately running back, is of a higher and drier nature; the swampy lands extend from one to three miles in breadth. There are only 180 natives now living on the island; it has lately been visited with much sickness, and many deaths ensued. From the testimony of some white residents, the country is not a wholesome one to reside in. It however produces all the tropical fruits and vegetables in much greater abundance than the necessities of the islanders require. The reefs swarm with fish, and live stock, such as pigs, fowls, ducks, &c., is plentiful.

August 29th.—This day and the day following we were in sight of Vavitoo, or High Island, called by the natives Raivavai; it resembles Toobuai in appearance, but is loftier and larger in extent.

October 4th.—Dropped anchor in Valparaiso Port. We made the land eighty or ninety miles to the southward, and narrowly escaped wreck on a shoal, of which we possessed no indication, eight or ten miles from the land. As we made our northing, the coast outline presented great uniformity of appearance, being gently undulating, and not very high. We passed close to the shoal of Topalcalwha, which

extends from twelve to fifteen miles from the shore. The coast immediately to the northward of the port of Valparaiso, is exceedingly high and bold, and if the towering summits are not hidden in the clouds, you will see that they are covered with periwigs which no mortal hand e'er helped to form. Hoary they are, as becomes the character, the majesty, and the grandeur of the wearers; but wreaths of eternal snow form curls which sparkle in the bright effulgence of the sun's meridian rays, or in the glowing radiance of its rising or declining beams, more gloriously than ever did the Hyperion curls fronting the brow of Jove.

A few days after our sojourn in Valparaiso, the place was startled from its propriety by the heavy shock of an earthquake. At one simultaneous moment, the people on hundreds of leagues of territory were thrown into consternation and dismay; the grandeur of the movement not sufficing to allay the terror it excited. The rumbling noise and vibratory motion continued for nearly a minute. My sensations were awful; nothing that man could do, no courage nor exertion, could avert the impending fate; and I momentarily expected the earth would yawn and engulph not only me, but her whose life is bound in mine. Steeples rocked and houses groaned; and it was the universal opinion, that had the oscillatory movement continued many seconds longer, nearly every house in Valparaiso would have come down. Providentially no serious damage was sustained.

Accompanied by my wife, I again visited Santiago and other places around Valparaiso. She was

delighted with the scenery, gardens, birds, cattle, flocks, &c., and all the novelties that met her eye; and I enjoyed, beyond measure, witnessing her delight, and listening to the *naïveté* of the expressions which her admiration called forth.

Nov. 26th.—On this day we went aboard a French brig bound for Tahiti *viâ* the Marquesas Isles.

December 1st.—Passed within five miles to the southward of Felix and Ambrose Islands. The last time I sighted them we passed to the northward, having Ambrose Island well to the westward. Present observation confirmed the opinion I had formed of Felix Island: it is a rocky inaccessible bluff. The centre of Ambrose Island curves inwardly, so that the prominent headlands look in the distance like two small islands: it is of a barren sandy nature, but I could not discover if there was any practicable landing-place.

December 24th.—At half past two A.M., by the "silvery sheen" of a bright moon a little past its full, we descried the southernmost of the Marquesas Isles. We could only distinguish that it was bold high land, as, wrapped in the mysterious light, it loomed but the spirit of an island. It is called by the Spaniards Madalena, and east-north-east from it ten or eleven miles distant, is a dangerous rock. The position assigned to this rock is latitude 10° 21′ S., longitude 138° 29′ W. It is not larger than a ship, and not more than twelve or fifteen feet above the level of the sea. At five A.M. we ran past San Pedro, another lofty island; and between six and

seven A. M. we entered the strait formed by the islands of Dominica and Christina, which last is called by the natives Oaitahu. The strait is two leagues broad; and, as we coasted Oaitahu, within half a mile of its rocky inaccessible cliffs, my curiosity was excited to discover the reason for the French ever occupying so useless a position. The island is absolutely nothing but an assemblage of broken cliffs and lofty inaccessible heights. We passed one or two insignificant sandy bights, where it was practicable (but for what good?) to effect landing by boats; and suddenly, on rounding a salient bluff, we shot into a little open bay, formed by an amphitheatre of mountains rising close upon you, and nearly perpendicularly, to the height of 3000 feet. And this is the bay where our famed navigator Cook brought to, in the Resolution, and on which he bestowed the name of Resolution Bay; and is an abandoned site, recently occupied by the French. The scenery is wonderfully imposing, as the mountains encircle the bight like a wall, and are clad in green herbage to their topmost ridges; but the bay is not safe for shipping, and there is no land available for any purpose of utility. It is on the north-west side of the island, and the French garrison must have worked incredibly hard, as the works they have left testify. But what a lamentable waste of time, life, and money! The natives resisted the invasion, as was natural to suppose, when they saw the pale faces clearing away their groves of cocoa-nut trees, and offering them no benefits in return; but European tactics prevailed, and the French maintained their miserably useless position,

till ordered to evacuate it. I do not believe the whole space they could command would occupy a square mile. The natives are a fierce-looking set of fellows, athletic and strongly built. The ferocity of their appearance is principally derived from the extraordinary way in which they tattoo themselves, apparently designed with the view of rendering themselves as frightful and terrific as possible; and ably have many of them succeeded, for they look the very imps of darkness. Dominica is the largest island of the group, and the loftiest; according to French surveyors its highest range is 3700 feet. It is broken into the wildest forms; and parasitical plants of intense greenness issue from the ravines and chasms, and clothe the most attenuated pinnacles, jagged spurs, and abrupt ridges.

December 25th. — Christmas Day. The heat is fearful, almost insupportable. Rather different this from the weather experienced in merry England just now. Little did I think the last time I formed one of a happy group sitting round a cosy Christmas fire there, cracking nuts and jokes at the same time, that my unsettled star would lead me in ten years, on that identical day, to where my brains were nearly stewing in my skull from the *white heat* of the sun, and introduce me to some of the fiercest-looking savages in creation. At daylight we were off Nukuhiva, or Marchand Island. It is about seventy-five miles north-west from Oaitahu. The harbour of Anna Maria, where the French are settled, is nearly in the centre, on the south side of the island. Nature must have been in terrible agony when she

threw up these islands; and it must have been in one of her most convulsive fits that she was delivered of Nukuhiva, which came but crudely formed into existence, and which has hardened into features of unsurpassable wildness. *There are beauty spots upon its face;* but their utility, my friend?—their utility?

On the east side of the bay, the rocky strata appears in regular layers, except at one point, where a perpendicular white vein runs into the sea and furnishes an excellent land-mark for distinguishing the harbour. Immediately to the southward of Nukuhiva is Baud Island, or Roa Pona, as the natives term it, distant about twenty-five miles; and equidistant, in nearly an easterly direction, Solide Island, or Roa-honga. Get the westernmost point of Baud Island to bear south by west by compass, and you will run into Anna Maria Bay. This bay is a pretty bight, forming to the eye a sweep embracing nearly four fifths of a circle, backed by a stupendous range between 3000 and 4000 feet high, similar to the enclosing mountainous amphitheatre of Oaitahu, and like Resolution Bay. Mistress Anna Maria cannot boast any land available for the purposes of European colonisation: "pride will have a fall;" sooner or later it must be abandoned. I do not wonder at Governor Bruat's leaving *French possessions* in the Marquesas with disgust, as they *possess nothing* to compensate hard knocks and an inglorious strife; and his dread of a residence there may have helped to bring about the present posture of affairs in Tahiti. The bay is not three miles in extent, from one

extremity to the other, and in no portion of the land does the interior extend one mile ere it reaches the acclivitous mountain sides. The greater proportion of the natives that belonged to it have died off, some have gone to other parts of the island, and there may be between one and two hundred remaining. Many of the men speak English from having made voyages in whalers; and it was not a little startling for me to hear myself, in my bush rambles, addressed by naked savages (who must be seen in their primitive state for a correct idea to be formed of their demon-like appearance) in perfectly intelligible English. The French have built a strong fort, commanding the entrance to the bay; it is defended by nine heavy guns, which traverse on semicircular slides. They have also erected blockhouses on different heights; and at one, which commands the whole range of the bay, they have got a large gun, which works upon a circle and can be pointed in any direction. Their works and buildings betray a great deal of energy, which it is a pity had not been devoted to a worthier cause. The natives, however, have cause to rejoice in the rugged inequalities of their country, since they prevent "vile appropriation." The French believe themselves that their government will not long continue to hold their frivolous Marquesan *possessions*. The natives go nearly naked; for although some French missionaries of Romish persuasion have been for years residing amongst them, they have had little if any civilising influence. It was pronounced by the *Most High*, "that it is not good for man to be alone;" and yet priests,

by a life of *avowed* celibacy, endeavour to subvert this *great* and natural truth. Where any beneficial change has been effected in the habits of savages, *the wives of the missionaries* may be looked upon as the refining cause. Priestcraft may obtain converts by aid of superstitious terrors, but generally speaking, the men whose *creed strikes at the foundation of life,* but whose practices, in many instances, are so different from their professions, are the last people in the world to create a salutary effect on the minds of the heathen, particularly in tropical climes, where their wants are limited, and their habits essentially sensual.

I had heard much of the beauty of the Marquesan women; but nearly all have died in the neighbourhood of the French localities, so that I had not a fair opportunity of forming a judgment: such as I did see had delicately small hands and feet, which were beautifully tattooed. They are lighter in colour than the Tahitians, and most of them had the under lip and the orifices in their ears tattooed, which to my eye did not lend an unpleasing effect. Like the natives of Rotumah, the Marquesans rub their bodies with oil mixed with a yellow powder, and drink kava, prepared in the filthy fashion I described when speaking of Rotumah. Their houses too, are built on artificial terraces; only these, instead of being walls of stone with earth filled in, are uncemented arrangements of boulder stones, raised in a square from three or four feet high to the extent required. The houses are curious from the simplicity of their construction. The roof and wall forming one, comes at a sharp angle from the ridge-

pole to the ground; this is the back of the house. On the front, the angle of the roof is more obtuse, and meets a wall-plate, elevated about six feet from the ground. The two ends are flat gables, and the walls are constructed of wattles arranged horizontally, to which is secured an outside covering of dried bread-fruit or pandanus leaves. The interior arrangements are no less simple and curious. Two spars, generally the unhewn stems of cocoa-nut trees, are stretched along the entire length of the building, between four and five feet asunder, and connected at the ends by curved pieces, the space between being filled with long dry grass, on which they spread their mats for sleeping; their heads resting on one of the spars, and their heels dangling over the other. From constant use, these sleeping bolls are worn quite smooth, and the round boulders of the floor are worn to a bright polish.

Their burying places, or morais, are in close proximity to their dwellings. Their dead are encased in hollowed pieces of timber, something resembling small canoes, and are suspended beneath sheds, on mounds of stones. After a season, the ashes of any great chief are deposited beneath heaps of massive boulders, arranged with unusual strength and care. I saw several of these tumuli; and from the great mortality that had recently taken place, so many bodies had been covered under one stony barrow, that the morais were shockingly offensive. I was compelled to hold my nose, and I almost held my breath, as I made my observations. Much human hair lay scattered about, and appeared between the

interstices of the stones. These islands are subject to long seasons of drought, when fresh water becomes scarce and difficult of attainment at Anna Maria Bay; the mountains that surround it are so uniformly scarped and acclivitous, that the rains and clouds have no chance of depositing any great body of water to form a continual stream. The French have provided for this first necessary of life, by sinking some excellent wells, which for the future will furnish good and unfailing supplies.

We remained a week at Nukuhiva, enjoying the hospitable kindness of the commissary of the establishment, who would not hear of our remaining on board the vessel, but resigned his own quarters to us, and showed us much attention. In his utter disregard of all personal inconvenience, he seemed scarcely to be aware of the existence of *self*, and a female could not have surpassed him in delicacy of deportment. Monsieur Quoniam's name has furnished us with a grateful souvenir for life; and happy should I be if at any time I were permitted to furnish him with as pleasing a one.

December 31*st.* — Got under weigh for Tahiti. We had a troublesome beat out, the wind being adverse, and the current strong against us. The coast, when we came to make our westing, faced the sea, *literally* abrupt as a wall; a nice lee-shore for a tempest-driven barque.

January 3*rd*, 1848.—Made Manchi and Oahe, two of those singular crater-lipped islands of the Paumutu group. We coasted the northern and western part of the latter within half-cable's length, and

we conjectured it to be fifteen miles long, by ten broad. The lagoon, from my observations aloft, indicated, by its glowing patches of yellow-looking water, plenty of coral knolls. On the west-north-west side, there was an opening through the lip into the lagoon, *wide* enough for any vessel to enter. A strong current was setting outward, and the water in the passage appeared shoal; but this may have been the effect of the sun's rays, which, glancing obliquely in the passage, may have caused a turbid reflection. There were only three or four cocoa-nut trees to be seen, and the island bore no signs of being inhabited. At half-past two P. M. sailed between Rairoa, or Dean's Island, and Aratua; the former not visible. There were several groves of cocoa-nut trees on the northern and western sides of Aratua; but the patches of vegetation on the ledge of the basin or lagoon were sparse and detached. In some parts the lip was awash, and could only be distinguished by the glistening yellowness of the water, and this is more particularly the case on the south and south-eastern sides. In moderate fine weather, no vestige of these hidden dangers could be detected, and the only guide for the mariner is the extraordinary stillness of the water near these reefs, which ought to put him on his guard. We had coasted the western side of the island, and were bearing away for Tahiti, under the impression that its inhabitants were on a migratory tour, when we noticed a signal flying, and saw one or two natives. The captain caused the boat to be lowered, and I accompanied him ashore. There were only two

natives, a man and his wife. The man told us there were other natives on the island, who were all engaged collecting cargo for our house, and, as well as I could understand him, they were staying close to a passage into the lagoon on the north-north-east side, as he pointed with his hand in that direction, and intimated, "that it was an obstinate long way off." It is only a boat passage. The man and his wife swam off to us, as it was dangerous to attempt landing from our square stern boat. Tempted by the facility with which the natives swam to and fro, one of the seamen craved permission to swim ashore, and help to bring down some cocoa-nuts; but he wasn't up to dodging a *swell* of the first water, and scarcely had he gained a footing, when the heavy recoil swept him off his legs; and it was ludicrous in the extreme to witness his open-mouthed amazement, as he felt himself rolling backwards, his heels higher than his head. He was "considerably galled," as a Yankee whaleman would say; but as he was in no real danger, it was amusing to watch his consternation, and the coolness of the native man; who, instead of going to his assistance, stood still, beckoning and calling out, "Iri-mai! iri-mai!" (Come here! come here!) — a task which the Frenchman found more difficult to perform than it was to give the injunction.

January 5th. — Without further incident, arrived in safety at Tahiti. My partner's health caused me to urge his immediate departure for Valparaiso; he accordingly embarked on board the Georgian, and sailed on the 2nd February.

CHAP. VII.

A Voyage amongst the Paumutu Islands to check-mate unfair Dealings. — The Island of Matea. — Tikahau. — Rairoa. — Auura. — Apatai. — Toau. — Aritika. — Faarava. — Faite. — From Faarava go to Ana. — The "Two Groups" properly two Lagoon Islands, the one to the north called by the Natives Marokau, that to the southward Ravahere. — Hikueru. — Claim of the Paumutu Islands to the Designation of Coral Islands. — Marutea. — Wretchedness of its People. — A slight Dissertation on Murder. — Mutitunga. — Singular Rising of the Sea during a Calm. — Tipoto. — Tuanake. — Hiti. — Katin. — Raraka. — Dwarf Cocoa-nut Trees. — Instances of the Virulence of poisonous Fish. — Kauchi. — Toau coasted. — Auura revisited. — Rairoa. — Make the Island of Matea. — A trip across it. — Reach Tahiti, and learn the News of the Dethronement of Louis Philippe, and his flight to England.

"Ah! believe that love may dwell
Where the coral branches twine."

Song, the Deep Sea.

"'T is done! but yesterday a king,
And arm'd with kings to strive,
And now thou art a nameless thing,
So abject — yet alive!"

BYRON.

May 28th. — HAVING learnt from vessels coming from the Paumutu Islands, that a certain party had been intriguing with natives engaged to us, and had possessed himself of biche de mer collected on our account, and that another party was interfering with our diving gangs, I chartered a weatherly schooner,

called the Fairy, from Captain H——, and set sail to investigate matters.

May 29th.—Made Matea, an island about 120 miles north-east by east from Point Venus: it is one of the few islands of the Paumutu group that does not possess a lagoon in its centre, and that is not encrusted with coralline formations. We first sighted its north-west side, which bore a resemblance to the chalky cliffs of Dover; the southern part of the island slopes towards the sea, and is verdant with foliage; but in every other direction it rises a perpendicular wall of rock, from two to three hundred feet high, its edges fringed with trees. The land appears to recede inwardly from the summit, as nothing can be seen beyond the trees that skirt the top of this rocky parapet, and which for ages has breasted with its naked adamantine sides the ceaseless warring of the ocean. There are a few white sandy curves at the base of these cliffs, furnished with a dense growth of vegetation, which has a very picturesque effect to the voyager. These spots form the settlements. The north-western extremity of the island is the highest point, and may be 400 feet in altitude. The principal settlement is on the north-east side. I approached it in a boat; but in consequence of its being late, and the landing place exceedingly bad, I caused my mission amongst the islands to be explained, and returned to the vessel. One of the natives (the man in charge of our property) plunged through the surf and swam to us. How I envied the fellow his complete mastery over the watery element.

May 30th.—At daylight we were close abreast of

Tikahau (Krusenstern's Island), a dangerous reef island, in many parts bare of trees, and nearly awash. There are a few cocoa-nut trees on its north-west side, where also there is a ship entrance to its lagoon. We stretched across for Rairoa, or Dean's Island, which stands about fifteen miles further to the eastward: this is the largest island of the group (if the term island may be allowed to the collection of reefs that encompass a sheet of water), 50 miles long, by an average breadth of 20. Landed at the north-western extremity, through a very good boat entrance to the lagoon; saw a family sheltered beneath a fine grove of cocoa-nut trees; and learnt that our overseer was at the middle harbour, which proved to be situate north by west. The entrance is spacious, and there is depth of water for any class ship. An islet well covered with cocoa-nut trees almost equally divides the passage, and a vessel may enter the lagoon on either side the islet. The natives call it, *par excellence,* Queen Pomare's Islet; and it is under the surveillance of two humpbacked Tahitians. The Rairoans were expecting a visit from the queen, and had erected a new house for her reception; but I fear this display of loyalty will be thrown away. A houseful of biche de mer, belonging to us, was stored on this islet; but our overseer was away at the most windward entrance. Sent a messenger in pursuit of him, and on returning to the vessel, hove to for the night.

May 31*st.* — Was ashore early, and made arrangements with the chief of the district to trade for us; left property to the amount of 300 dollars in his hands; and

took our white overseer with us, intending to leave him on another island. Rairoa, which interpreted means long land, lies nearly east and west. The southern range of reefs is exceedingly low, and the patches of vegetation sparsely detached. The northern range is more continuous, a dark mass of green shrubs appearing above a line of dazzling white sand, with groves of cocoa-nut trees at intervals. The most weatherly entrance to the lagoon is about nine miles further to the eastward than the middle harbour, and the passage is clear and free from danger, being wider even than the middle one. There is good anchorage immediately after entering, in a bight on the western side, opposite a grove of cocoa-nut trees. There are many coral knolls in the lagoon, but for the most part they are covered with sufficient water for vessels of any burthen to pass over.

June 1st.—This morning we were at the weather or eastern end of Rairoa, and had an excellent opportunity for renewing our chronometrical observations. We corrected our rate by Point Venus, and the result of our observations gave the west point of Rairoa in longitude 147° 58′ 15″ W. and the south-east point 147° 13′ W.; making the extreme length of the island not to exceed forty-six miles, which I believe to be pretty near the truth; much more so than Arrowsmith's chart is. The western extremity is also much broader than the eastern, although on the chart the very reverse is exhibited. But this may have been the fault of the artist, who may have engraved his plates from the original surveys or plans, instead of from their reflected images.

Our observations completed, we tacked and stood for the north-west part of the island of Aratua (Fourth Island). Again I coasted this island to its southern extreme: a bare shoal stretches out for several miles to the southward, and nearly the whole eastern side of the island consists of naked reefs. The chart shews the contrary, and the cause assigned above may account for the error.

June 2nd.—I had to "rouse out" early this morning, on our being abreast of the settlement on the west side of the island of Auura, or Third Island. We had not been misinformed; a Frenchman had been to the island, and by his representations had succeeded in obtaining from the natives the first important parcel of biche de mer, which, after two years' perseverance and instructions from us, and, of course, not unattended with expense, they had collected. Twelve of the natives were implicated in this dishonest transaction, and I caused them to be brought to trial by their judges. Many hours were occupied in speechifying, and the ingrates betrayed considerable ingenuity in trying to evade the consequences of their conduct; but I always brought them back to the point from which they would continually keep straying; and at length, having stripped them of every plea or excuse, they acknowledged their guilt, but as something in extenuation, submitted that the Frenchman had beguiled them by his arguments, and their own poverty had made them forgetful of their faith to us. The judges, with the code of laws in hand, were about sentencing them to make each fifty fathoms of road, but were at a loss to

specify the compensation which we should receive. At this juncture I stepped forward, and begged to admit the extenuating circumstances; and requested the judges to forego the penalty on this occasion, but to admonish them as to keeping stricter faith in their future agreements with Europeans. The court commented for a few minutes on my clemency, and broke up, apparently much to the satisfaction of both the judges and the accused.

Auura is nearly oval shaped, and one of the prettiest of the lagoon islands; it possesses some beautiful groves of young cocoa-nut trees, although on its eastern side there are wide gaps of bare reef; the number of its inhabitants, including children, may amount to between 200 and 300. We left the white man we brought from Rairoa there, to keep a stricter guard over our property, and regained the schooner as the sun was yielding to the reign of night.

June 3rd.—Worked to windward during the night, and at six A.M. we were close to the settlement on the north-east side of Auura. Landed, and owing to the dishonourable conduct of the Frenchman, had divers obstacles to contend with. He had been put to no expense in sending vessels time after time to the islands, and in employing and paying white men to instruct the natives how to cook and cure the biche de mer, but availing himself of the circumstance that the natives had not been settled with for their collections, he tempted them by offering a larger price than we had agreed for; and now they wanted us to take short measure, which we would

not consent to. After rather an inflammatory discussion, they promised to act fairly and abide by their engagements; and leaving some property in their hands, with additional pots and pans, we took our departure. One of the natives, during the heat of the debate, sprang to his feet, and accused our agent of having acted falsely, and of being the cause of all the trouble; and contended that all the baskets of biche de mer procured amongst the islands were of the same size as those they now required payment for. I immediately seized a basket, and ordered it to be taken on board, that it might be compared with the baskets in the store at Tahiti in the presence of the judges; and I proposed that one of their own people should accompany me, that he might see with his own eyes, and hear with his own ears. This style of argument was totally unexpected; and as we were making our way to the boat, a hasty meeting was assembled, and presently a native, with a good-sized pig under his arm, came running after us, and offered the squeaker as an atonement for the lies they had told, if we would consent to let the matter drop. At first we declined all compromise; but they pleaded so earnestly, and bestowed such hearty anathemas on the tata aviri (lying man), that we allowed them to withdraw the basket; though we rejected the sacrificial swine, as all we required was fair play.

On leaving Auura we steered for Aratua, and made its only entrance to the lagoon on the north-east side at half-past three P. M. A small vessel

might enter this passage at slack water. We had to contend in the boat with a strong current setting out. The natives of the island had almost abandoned the hope of seeing us; and as no one had been there to beguile and mislead them, we speedily concluded our arrangements, by paying for all the sea-slug they had collected, and by leaving pots and pans for the more effectual curing of it. There were not above fifty inhabitants on the whole island. They subsist principally on fish diet, there being but few cocoa-nut trees, and no other fruit or vegetable growing in the place. They were all stout healthy-looking people, but more swarthy than the Tahitians. They were taking their evening meal when we landed, and, mercy on us! what quantities of fish they did stow away. From Aratua we shaped our course for Apatai (First Island). The sun had sunk when we made the island, and night had spread her sable pall; but as the situation of the harbour on the south-west side was well known to our agent, we steered boldly for it. Hove to, when the roar of the breakers announced we were sufficiently near, and lowered the boat. The entrance is exceedingly good, free from hidden dangers — or we should not have ventured in in the dark — wide, and with depth of water for vessels of any draught. We found only a few families located on the island, as its lagoon is notorious for its poisonous fish. No attempts had been made to cure biche de mer, as they said they had been waiting for pans. We left four amongst them; and as it was too dark for further observations, we made our congé, regaining the

vessel by half-past nine P.M., when the order given was to steer for Aritika.

June 4th.—The wind was "dead in our teeth," and we had to make a long board to the southward, which brought us early this morning in sight of the island of Toau (Second, or Elizabeth Island). There are no inhabitants on it, and we did not stand in close enough for more particular observations. At nightfall Aritika was about eight miles to windward of us; but an excruciating headache disabled me from all exertion, and when it became quite obscure we hove to for daylight.

June 5th.—Aritika is about twenty miles in circumference, circular in its form, and has two entrances to its lagoon, one on the west-north-west side, and the other on the north-east. We pulled into the lee harbour against a current setting out at the rate of six knots. We found it impossible to stem it with the oars, so pulled across the mouth, and leaping on to the rocks, tracked the boat in. Between twenty and thirty tons of mother-of-pearl shell were stacked ready for shipment, but our divers had left the island; and after having pulled to the settlement, which is about three miles to the southward of the west-north-west passage, we discovered the native inhabitants had gone to the opposite side of the island. We left some iron pots, and a letter explanatory of our visit for the chief who has charge of our property. It was raining and blowing hard during the whole of our stay, but this did not prevent our inspecting the scene of Commodore Wilkes's boring operations. Several pieces of iron tube re-

main, and some of the joints are perfect. Parts of the stage erected for working the boring implements are still standing, the Yankees having told the simple natives to take great care of every thing, for they had been boring for sand to take to the United States, and if it was approved, they meant to return for a cargo of it. The island wears but a scraggy appearance, there being long spaces where nothing but a skeleton reef of dusky red just grins above the water; but there are also a few patches of soil, more generous than is usually to be found amongst the Paumutus. At the settlement there was quite an extensive garden, in which we saw the pumpkin, pine-apple, ninito, banana, and other vegetables growing. Our bright lads made a raid upon the cocoa-nut trees, and we had half a boat-load of nuts in a twinkling: two of them belonged to the island, but wished us to convey them to Ana; and they told us they had a perfect right to help themselves.

June 6th. — At anchor *in the island of Faarava*, or Wittgenstein Island; "An anomalous kind of anchorage!" one would be apt to exclaim. Last night was a rude one, and the little schooner bounded and tossed like Mazeppa's wild horse. It required some judgment to direct her amid such a thick cluster of islands, and I was glad to find our agent quite equal to the occasion. We were close in to the island of Faite, or Myloradowitch Island, at seven o'clock A.M., and after breakfast we went ashore in the boat. The entrance to the lagoon is on the west-north-west side, similar to the one we entered at Aritika; but the entrance is wider, and a vessel of

considerable burthen, by watching her opportunity, might be taken in and moored in safety. About seventy baskets of biche de mer had been collected for us, which we paid for, and placed under charge of the governor of the island, with some iron pots to extend the business: we also left a few articles of trade with him, that he might barter for any thing during my absence. There are about sixty natives proper belonging to the island, which seemed abundantly supplied with fowls and pigs. A fine grove of cocoa-nut trees exists on either side the entrance, but the chief settlement is on the south side. There is no mother-of-pearl shell in the lagoon — so the natives say — but sharks in great number. This put me on bargaining with them to catch them for their fins and tails. The natives themselves are exceedingly partial to the flesh of the shark, and by our supplying them with hooks and gear, and paying them for what would otherwise be refuse, it will be double gain to them. From Faite Harbour to the south-east entrance in the island of Faarava, the course is north-west by north, by compass, distance twelve miles. We made it at three o'clock P. M., and could not have hit a more opportune time, for it was slack water, and we had a fine favouring breeze. It was in this harbour that the American schooner Emerald was wrecked some years ago, in the attempt to beat out against wind and tide. The wonder would have been great if she had escaped wreck, notwithstanding the entrance being one of the finest and most spacious of any existing at these "half-drowned islands." Faarava is full thirty miles in length, and

has here and there splendid clusters of young cocoa-nut trees growing on its detached patches; and this occasions me to remark, that the groves at all the islands are young, — a convincing proof that the various islands are only *now* recovering from the desecrating outbreak of the Chain Islanders.

June 7th. — Purchased our anchor at half-past eight A. M., and proceeded lower down the lagoon. We had an unobstructed passage for about twelve miles over a pure white sandy bottom, and an average depth of water of from twelve to fifteen fathoms. Brought to opposite a settlement yclept Tetou. Our factotum was absent on a fishing excursion: the people wanted the loan of our boat to send for him, but we could not spare it, neither did we relish the delay which a compliance with the request would have occasioned. Took ashore a quantity of property, some iron pots and shark hooks, and left an explanatory note for the chief, with a present for his own peculiar benefit. At three P. M. again got under weigh, with the intention of leaving the island; but as we were standing to the northward, the sun's ray's cast a shimmering reflection directly in our course, and prevented our distinguishing the coral knolls scattered in the lagoon. We narrowly escaped running foul of one, and taking the hint, dropped anchor for the night.

June 8th. — The wind came round from the northward; so instead of leaving the lagoon by its north-eastern passage, we weighed anchor, and at midday cleared the passage by which we entered, and bore away direct for Ana, where we landed next morning,

and were struck with the apathy of the natives. On all former visits, numbers would rush to our assistance, to save the boat from being injured on the rocks; now, not a soul came near us, and we received about as much notice as the native pigs wandering about. Europeans have become cheap with these demi-barbarians; "Cheap, sir! cheap! too cheap!" as Mr. Bumble, that worthy representative of parochial authority, would have remarked. Had an interview with the chiefs and principal men, announced my object in visiting the islands, and delivered what I considered a very eloquent lecture on the difference between *meum* and *tuum*, involving a slight allusion to the laws of nations, and containing a gentle hint for their future guidance, which I trust they will have the good sense to profit by. The wind continuing from the northward, I brought my *argumentum ad hominem* to a close, and by sundown we were on board and on the way for Hikueru.

June 13*th.*—Last night we were not far distant from the reefs of the Two Groups, which seems an odd name to have given them. There are two distinct lagoon islands; the northern one, named by the natives Marokau, and the southern one, Ravahere. About midday, after hard beating against a north-east wind, made the west side of Hikueru. The south-west, south, and south-east sides of this island are bare reefs, awash. We landed from the boat on the west side. About seventy tons of shell were collected; but some of our good friends had been there, doing us all the mischief they could. As far as I could judge, the island is about twelve

miles long, north and south, by eight or nine east and west, and it is of oval formation. The lagoon is studded with coral knolls, and our overseers report abundance of shell. Hikueru suffered greatly from the natives of Ana, who did not leave on it a single cocoa-nut tree standing. Our agent planted many hundreds some years ago, but they have been of slow growth, and do not yield prolificly. The patches of vegetation are few and far between.

June 14th. — Engaged from morn till dark in paying off the divers.

The Paumutu Isles are generally called coral islands, and I believe, following the fashion, I have called them so myself, but they most certainly are not so. Geologists assert, that the polypes to whom the manufacture of coral is assigned, cannot live in deep water; and the fact would appear so, for all the coralline formations, the work of insects, are upon a rocky basis, a few fathoms below the surface of the ocean. Such is the case at all the islands of the Paumutu group, and at the Georgian and Society Islands. At the latter islands the coral is of abundant growth within the encircling belts of reefs, where the soundings vary from two to forty fathoms; but outside the reefs, vessels may approach close to and obtain no soundings; and oftentimes, as we have been balanced upon the waves, waiting for the right one to carry us upon the reefs, I have noticed, as the seas recoiled and exposed their steep sides, no signs of coral, but a deep red rocky front, adapted to oppose enduring resistance to the wasting power of the water. And need is it that it should be so, if "constant

dropping will hollow the hardest rock." Some of the islands rise from the deep like a flight of stairs, having the upper steps or rocky terraces covered with coralline formations; hence the unsuspecting have drawn the conclusion that the whole has been the work of zoophytes; but assuredly no: and it will be remembered, that the mutineers of the Bounty, on trying to run the vessel ashore at Toobuai, entirely capsized one of these coralline excrescences, and the vessel passed on without sustaining any injury. On two occasions when sailing over these submarine groves, our vessel came in contact with the interlacing branches of the wonderful and beautiful production, *uprooting* some, and scattering others into a thousand fragments, yet scarcely deadening her way. If it is true that coral cannot live in deep water, it is also true that it cannot live entirely out of the water, as it dies if exposed above the surface. And at Hao, or Bow Island, I remarked in my last visit, that where, by some law of nature, the sea had encroached upon certain portions of the reefs, laying bare other parts, the coralline formations on the latter were all dead.

June 15th. — Becalmed the whole of this day off the island of Martuea (Furneaux Island), the most dangerous lagoon island I have yet seen, the whole of its southern range, from east to west, being a partially drowned reef, with an occasional rock studding it here and there. Two clumps of trees are at the south-eastern extremity, but they are insignificantly small, and the only traces of vegetation to be seen. A curling surf plays in-

cessantly upon the reef, but in thick weather, or towards night, it would not be discernible; it is an ugly place to make, and several wrecks have happened here.

June 16th. — A light breeze favoured us at daylight this morning, and we stood along the eastern side of Marutea, coasting it to the northward. About north-east, there is a boat entrance, and we lowered and pulled in. The tide was setting out like a mill race, but by the dexterous use of the steering oar, we avoided the breakers roaring on either side of us, and landed in safety. A white sand spit on the north side of the entrance forms the mark by which you may know it; and retreating with the line of coast is a grove of trees, very few of them being the cocoa-nut tree. We only fell in with eight or ten natives, all the rest being engaged in diving for mother-of-pearl shell, to work out a penalty inflicted upon them by the French government of Tahiti, for the murder of a Mr. Riccardi and his crew, who were killed at the island of Raroia (Barclay de Tolly Island) twelve months ago, and the vessel they were in plundered and burnt. The natives who committed the sanguinary deed affirmed that they only revenged upon Riccardi the cold-blooded murder of some of their own countrymen; for that, about six years ago, Riccardi wantonly ran down one of their canoes, by which piece of cruelty five lives were lost, and he also killed one or two others by firing at them with muskets. The governor dispatched the steam frigate Gassendi, with troops, to apprehend Riccardi's

murderers. They had dispersed, it appears, immediately after they had inflicted their savage vengeance, and had fled to different islands; but the relentless *pahi anahi* (fire ship) pursued them, nor abandoned the pursuit till she had them all in irons under hatches. They were tried in Tahiti; and some were hung, others doomed to work for the remainder of their days in irons, and the rest sentenced to pay 200 tons of mother-of-pearl shell, with the pearls therefrom, to the owner of the little vessel, which is more than ten times her equivalent value. But what had the natives of Marutea to do with the fine you will ask? Why, as there was but little prospect of the unhappy remnant of Raroians being ever able to accomplish the fine, the natives of Marutea were brought in as accessories after the fact, because, as is the wont of the migratory Paumutuans, they happened in their wanderings to touch at Raroia subsequent to the massacre. In like manner, some of the natives of Hikueru were brought in guilty of a similar offence, and were condemned to pay, the men three tons of shell each, and the women one ton and a half each. It was considered necessary to impose a check upon the natives, who are called bloodthirsty savages, and all the opprobrious epithets that language will afford; but what is the difference between their conduct and that of the most civilised nations upon earth? They sought redress for injuries received, and what does France? Murder in retaliation? No! she only hangs a few, and condemns others to a living death, for the purpose of furnish-

ing a salutary restraint. And in the wars of civilised nations, look at the thousands of individuals, guiltless of all offence, remorselessly slaughtered, because they happen to speak a language differing from that of their butchers. Look at the letters of marque granted to vessels called Privateers, instead of *Licensed Pirates*, commissioning them to burn, slay, destroy, or capture the lives and property of inoffensive traders innocent of any other crime than the heinous one of exchanging the products of different countries; and yet, because men with dark skins revenge upon those with white the atrocious cruelties inflicted upon them, they are denounced as being little better than fiends incarnate. We have made wholesale murder a trade, and have clad the destroyers in scarlet and gold. The words revenge and thirst for plunder are repugnant to our civilised ears; but let us be just, and we will find that it is only the enormity of our aggressions that precludes parallel between us and those whom we, in our arrogance, choose to entitle savages. But I digress.

Marutea is a most wretched place; its lagoon yields no edible fish, for although they may be taken in abundance, they are all poisonous, and a few Europeans have sustained frightful consequences from incautiously partaking of them. I have mentioned that the southern range of the island is a reef awash; and, in circumnavigating the island to-day, we discovered the whole of the western side to be of similar character. The yellow sand gleaming through the water, betrays the nature and ex-

tent of the reef, and embedded in it are scattered fragments of dark rock, which show themselves in the white surf, and stand the representatives of trees and bushes. On the northern range of the island there are clumps of vegetation, but the pandanus is the only tree that yields food, with the exception of the cocoa-nut, which is very scarce. The poor natives declared they had nothing in reservation to eat, and they found it exceedingly difficult to supply the cravings of nature. Their principal diet is the fish from a species of clam shell, called by them pāuā. They had various stacks of shell collected on account of the fine, but said "they had an obstinate large quantity still to collect, which would occupy them many months:" Pharaoh's taskmasters could not have imposed more bitter travail. By repeated observations, we made the island to be seventeen miles long, east and west, by eight broad. Marutea signifies "poisonous fish;" and Lord Hood's Island has also been termed Marutea by the natives, from the fatal effects produced by the fish that were caught in its lagoon. I noticed the appearance of Lord Hood's Island, March 6th, 1843. It is not inhabited.

June 17*th.* — Mutitunga, or Adventure Island, in sight. At seven A.M. we pulled with the boat into a singular gap in the reef on the north-west side, which does not communicate with the lagoon of the island. A vessel of 120 tons has been warped into this chasm, and moored securely to the land on either side, as it winds tortuously; but there is not room for two vessels to lie in it at once. The

southern boundary of the lagoon is a bare reef; the northern is elevated six or seven feet above the sea's level, and possesses a few groves of cocoa-nut trees. The natives informed us, that in the month of December last, their island was inundated by a great rising of the sea, and all their houses were flooded between two and three feet deep. This phenomenon, they say, took place when it was a stark calm. We wished to engage all the natives of this island for a diving expedition, but many of them having called at Raroia, for the purpose of planting cocoa-nuts, shortly after the taking of Riccardi's vessel, they had fallen under the ban thereby occasioned, and had been condemned to furnish so many tons of shell. Four of them agreed to come with us, but the others preferred remaining to assist their countrymen in working out their penalty. The position of the chasm we made in latitude 17° 5′ S., and longitude 144° 23′ W. The island is but small, and the inhabitants few. We left four pans with them, to assist in curing biche de mer, and they requested permission to send two to the neighbouring island of Tanier (Chichagoff Island), which we were graciously pleased to accord. From Mutitunga we "wended our devious way" to a small island not noticed in any published chart, called by the natives Tipoto; by our calculation it is in latitude, 16° 48′ S., longitude 144° 16′ W. It is a lagoon island, and does not exceed four miles in circumference, but its moiety of earth is well covered with the foliage common to the Paumutu Isles. Breakers extend for half a mile

off its southern point. On its west side there is a rent or crevice, which may be entered by boats, and affords safe landing, but there is no passage leading into the lagoon. Eight or nine miles north-north-east by compass from Tipoto, is another small island, also unnoticed on the charts, known as Tuanake. This is about eight miles in circumference: it has a boat entrance to its lagoon on the south-west side. We pulled into it, and I traversed the settlement on the south side of the entrance. The natives belonging to the place were absent, and we learnt that it was rare that more than five or six remained there at a time. The "dry spot," where man can "rest his foot," is rather more elevated here than at the other islands we have lately visited; and the graceful boughs of some young cocoa-nut trees, blending with the bright green foliage that rises above the glistening white sands, almost cheated me into believing that it had some pretensions to be entitled a picturesque place. It could boast a few tara pits, from twelve to thirty feet square, which must have cost the natives severe labour. They had cleared away the debris, left probably from the time the islands first emerged from the ocean, and a superstratum of crystallised rock, to the depth of four feet, when they arrived at a moist dark black subsoil, in which they had got their tara planted. It is a species with diminutive roots, but prized from the little variety of vegetable diet they are enabled to procure. East by south from Tuanake, and distant six miles, is situate the small island of

Hiti; it is likewise omitted to be noticed on the charts. It possesses a lagoon, but no harbour nor inlet to it.

June 18th. — We stood off and on the harbour of Tuanake last night, and early this morning landed six divers, with one of our overseers, and provisions, giving them instructions to work the lagoon, as it had never yet been dived in for commercial purposes. We then directed our course for the island of Katin, or Sacken Island, which lies north by west about ten miles from Tuanake. We made its south point, and coasted its weather side, within a cable's length of the beach, to its northern extremity. It exhibits the appearance of a sloping green bank of thick impenetrable scrub: there is scarcely a break in the verdant barrier for nearly twelve miles; and it is as regular in its formation, as an English hedgerow, its even line being only occasionally interrupted by the head of some sprouting cocoa-nut trees. The entrance to the lagoon is situate north-east by north: a vessel of considerable burden might take it, by watching the favourable turn of tide, but I cannot speak much in favour of it as a ship passage. We entered in our boat, the tide serving, but encountered a tremendous rolling swell. Not more than a dozen people, including women and children, were living upon the island. They had made an effort to cure biche de mer, which had not been particularly successful; but we paid for all they had collected, and left a boat with them and two pans, upon the understanding that the men in fine weather were to dive for

shell, and the women and children were to collect biche de-mer.

June 19th. — Off the island of Raraka. This island is unnoticed in any of our charts. We made its north by west point to be in latitude 16° 3′ S. and longitude 144° 44′ W. Its south-west and southern sides are formed by a broken reef, bare in some places, and in others the sea was breaching over it. From the south-east to the west-south-west side, the ridge of debris appears well wooded, and for several miles as we coasted along it had the same hedge-like appearance noticed of Katin. The lagoon is deep, so we are told, and the reef surrounding it describes almost a circle between forty and fifty miles in circumference. The passage to the lagoon is on the north-west by west side: a protruding rock divides the entrance, forming two channels; that to the northward is narrow, but that more to the southward is sufficiently spacious for ships of burthen. We visited the settlement in the boat. The only natives on the island consisted of four families, who did not compose a population, exceeding fourteen in all. We thought they looked very miserable. The head man had gone to the neighbouring island of Kauchi (Carlshoff Island): he is one-armed, having lost his left brachial member by a voracious shark, who seized him as he himself was diving for fish upon the reef — the biter bit. Encouraged the poverty-stricken outcasts to collect biche de mer, as the island abounds with it, gave them a few necessaries, and left two pans. Noticed several groves of cocoa-nut trees remarkably stunted

in growth, some of them being laden with branches of fruit within four feet from the ground.

I have had occasion to speak of islands noted for their poisonous fish; and here we saw instances of the terrible effects produced by them. A fine large dog had every joint in his body paralysed, and every muscle relaxed and powerless; it was a distressing spectacle to witness its attempts at locomotion. The natives said it had been in this way for some time, and would never recover, but could not be persuaded that it would be an act of mercy to put it out of its misery. A cat was also affected in a similar manner; its hind quarters were dead, and appeared as if they had been crushed beneath a roller. The natives at Faarava assured us that the fish taken at one end of their lagoon were edible and salutary, but twelve miles higher up they were deadly poisonous. "How can you tell when they are poisonous?" I asked. "By their appearance, and from long experience." The dog and cat had been made ill by eating some of the rejected fish that had not been put out of their reach.

From Raraka we steered north-west, and made the weather side of the island of Kauchi, which resembles Raraka in being better wooded than most of the Paumutu Isles, and also in its circular form. Its southern belt of reef is bare of trees or vegetation, but we noticed rising sand banks along its whole extent; and, if they are not swept away by some devastating flood, seeds may hereafter germinate upon them. The opening to the lagoon

is exactly on the south-west side of the island, wider than generally, and free from hidden dangers; but, like all the passages of the lagoon islands communicating with the sea, the current sets in or out, according to the state of tide, with great velocity. We were fortunate in reaching the harbour a little after slack water, when the current favoured our entrance in the boat; but we found it expedient to keep as close to the breakers as possible, to avoid the rushing strength of the stream. The native settlement is on the south-east side of the lagoon, about nine miles from the entrance; and as the wind was directly from that point, we had a laborious pull against a chopping sea, and did not reach it till long after the sun had driven his chariot beyond the visible horizon. Kauchi rejoices in the unwonted luxury of a garden, and we strolled through quite a plantation of ninitas, which were thriving luxuriantly, melons, pumpkins, pine-apples, &c.; and attempts were making to cultivate the banana. The bunches of fruit, however, were of the most Lilliputian order; and not having reached maturity, I cannot testify as to their carrying out the old adage of being "little but good." Ten natives formed the island's complement. We left them two pans for curing biche de mer, as they say there is plenty of it in their lagoons, and regained the vessel at ten P. M.

June 20th. — At six A. M. the eastern side of Toau was in sight. This island is about twenty-five miles long, and stretches north-west and south-east; and the reef embracing its lagoon is studded

with clumps or islets of trees. No natives reside on it, as they say its basin yields none but poisonous fish. We made the lee end on the north side to be in latitude 15° 47′ S., and longitude 146° 4′ W. It has two ship entrances to the lagoon, one on the north-west, and the other on the south-east side.

At three P. M. we were close to the boat passage on the north-east side of Auura, and by our observations it is in latitude 15° 40′ S., and longitude 146° 39′ W. Our behaviour on the last visit had produced its effect, the natives had traded on the terms originally stipulated for; and the native in charge of the goods had collected 120 baskets of biche de mer, and parties were away in pursuit of more. We caused an additional supply of property to be landed, and then stood for the lee side of the island. It was dark when we reached the boat ravine in the reef, but our coming had been noticed, and a beacon fire was kindled on the beach to guide us. Our overseer had 200 baskets of biche de mer on hand, and almost every native on the island had entered into agreement with him. We left a good supply of trade for their encouragement, and returned to the vessel.

June 21*st.*—We narrowly escaped an abrupt termination to our cruize in the Fairy, as we found ourselves at one A. M., almost embayed on a lee shore. We had sailed faster than our reckoning allowed, and with a south-east wind we were off the south-east side of Rairoa. Had it not been for the brilliancy of the "silvery lamp of night," we should probably have lost

the little schooner. At meridian we were abreast the weather entrance to Rairoa, which is situated north by east, and intended entering; but the current was setting out with such force that we continued our way to the middle harbour. Here also we found the tide still ebbing with great violence, and had to wait till past three P. M. before we dared venture to take the passage. We took the eastern channel, and in one spot had less than two fathoms water. After we had dropped our anchor, the chief told us it was thirty years since a vessel had last entered their lagoon. The weather harbour has a sand-bank in mid-channel, causing the entrance to branch like the letter Y. Both branches are accessible; a frigate might take the more easterly one. Most of the natives were dispersed about, collecting biche de mer for us.

June 22*nd.*—Took in twelve tons of biche de mer, more or less, and at four P.M. cleared the lagoon, whilst it was yet slack water, sending back our boat for wood, &c. The night proved beautifully clear, enabling us to run along the coast to the southward; and early in the morning of

June 23*rd* we again made the island of Matea. Landed and paid the natives who had been cutting timber for us. We then, gun in hand, struck across the island, the vessel running down to the lee side to wait for us. Any one on landing would conceive it impossible to scale the summit of the island; for the rocky sides incline forward out of the perpendicular, and offer nothing for the hand or foot to rest upon. Whilst wondering how we were to ascend, our guide

conducted us by a lateral crevice, imperceptible till you are in it, and a tolerably constructed path led us to the summit. Rugged masses of scoria lie heaped about, and fragmentary particles are scattered over the whole surface of the island. The land dips and forms a complete hollow, as I had imagined; and had the mighty throes of the convulsed earth been a thought less severe when Matea issued from its fiery womb, and entered upon atmospherical existence, we should have had another "low island." The inland hollow would have formed its lagoon; its boundary ridge would have furnished the detached patches of reef, more or less elevated; the gullies or chasms in the cliffs would have been passages or entrances from the sea; and, as is the case with most of the low islands, the southern range would have been awash, or nearly so: for, as before noticed, the land to the south slopes gradually to the sea. There is no anchorage off the island, and consequently not a fragment of coralline formation to be seen. This appears to me a refutation of the idea, that the Paumutu Islands are the work of insects. Matea forms absolutely one of the group, and there are what I term *crater-lipped islands* still to leeward of it.

An excellent road for native workmanship has been carried across the rugged interior of Matea, and a fine grove of cocoa-nut trees has been planted on either side of it. The soil is rich beneath the lava; but nature is left to her own vagaries — I did not see one inch of cultivated land. The tamanu tree is tolerably thick, which is the timber they had been cutting for us; but it is too small to be of

commercial value. We shot some fine wood pigeons in our stroll, hundreds of which we heard cooing in every direction, and a pleasant excursion of four or five miles brought us to the summit of the cliffs at the north-west bight. Our descent was rather arduous, the broken sides of a ravine permitting us to make saltant steps occasionally, and the vitrified points of scoria furnishing us with an occasional hand-fast; and as I was literally "stemming the way with my taffril," happening to hesitate where next I should put my foot, my companion, who was above, taking a lesson from my proceedings, shouted out, "Where caution marks the guarded way," making me a practical illustration of that line in the duet of "All's Well."

June 24th.—Becalmed; but the mere flapping of the Fairy's sails serves to propel her through the water two knots an hour.

June 25th.—Entered the harbour of Papeeti in the boat, and learnt the astounding intelligence that *another revolution* had taken place in France, and that Louis Philippe, abandoning his throne, had sought refuge, with his family, in England; many of the municipal guard were killed: thus "Time in its whirligig brings about its revenge." Queen Pomare, thou art in part requited; but, unhappily, this will not restore thee thine independent sovereignty, thy slaughtered subjects, nor the groves of cocoa-nut and bread-fruit trees, for ever destroyed. The news only arrived yesterday; the natives are amazed, the governor perplexed, and the soldiery in a state of insane fervour. "Vive la République!" is their

frenzied cry, and songs of republican burthen are shouted in every direction. The French are of a verity the greatest gamblers on earth, they would risk any thing and every thing for the sake of excitement. The demigod Louis Philippe is now spurned to the dust, and the governor of Tahiti is thereby placed in a peculiarly embarrassing position. The "République" was saluted with twenty-one guns. This did not suffice to allay the fever-heated excitement of the soldiery; they protested against the cool reception which the governor gave the glorious announcement, and insisted that a salute of one hundred guns should be given. The governor replied that "he was not the commander of the troops, and they must act according to their pleasure; but he was the commander of the shipping in the port, and from them he would sanction no other salute than the one already fired." The officers and men belonging to the troops appeared both drunk and delirious. Water is not more unstable than the French character.

CHAP. VIII.

Not being allowed to land the Fairy's Cargo in Tahiti, proceed to Raiatea. — Touch at Huaheine. — Discovery of more Intrigue and Double-dealing causes a precipitate Voyage to Fanning's Island. — Caroline Island. — Christmas Island; with an Account of some recent Wrecks upon it. — Fanning's Island. — Washington Island. — Washington Island believed to be one with Prospect Island, and Fanning's Island identical with America Island. — Palmyra Island; its singular Conformation. — Return to Fanning's Island. — The Death of a Native. — Penrhyn's Island; its supposed Identity with Bennett's Island. — Attempt of the Natives to capture a Schooner. — Join the French Frigate Sirène, which proceeds to Ana to adjust Differences and restore Order. — A shrewd Device, which produces Conviction. — Anchor in Tahiti on Christmas Day.

We were not allowed to land from the Fairy the produce we had brought from the Paumutu Islands, as they are considered a portion of Pomare's dominions; the privilege of coasting being reserved for vessels wearing the flag of France. This is not the protection Pomare sought when the French usurped the mastery of her dominions: it was in keeping to say only vessels wearing the flag of France shall be permitted to coast; but the protectorate having been restored with the freedom of the port, I don't see why this uncalled-for and exceedingly vexatious regulation should be enforced: France can derive no benefit from it, and it is exposing us to an annoying impost, involving expense

and loss of time. The Fairy wears the flag of Raiatea, and to Raiatea we must go, to discharge and reload. How long will nations continue to shackle commerce with these preposterous enforcements?

June 26th.—Rejoined the Fairy, and stood for Raiatea.

June 27th.—Being close to the harbour of Huaheine, pulled in to deliver in person some despatches for the missionary resident. The place is not what it was previous to the French invasion. The natives appear to have deserted it; and the stumps of what once were stately trees, the empty space where once stood houses, and other evidences of violence and desecration, impart to it a ruined melancholy aspect. In our walk from one extreme end of the settlement to the other, we only saw a solitary native here and there, and our sudden appearance occasioned neither surprise nor interest. Reached Raiatea the same afternoon, and worked our way to the harbour of Huaru.

We were not destined to make any long stay, for we received a hint that another party was bound to Fanning's Island (an uninhabited lagoon island north of the equator), to intrigue with a cocoa-nut oil establishment we had formed there. It took us all the 28th and 29th to discharge and get ready, and on the afternoon of *June 30th* we sailed to checkmate our adversary, who has been "ploughing with our heifer;" the master of one of the vessels in our employ having betrayed all our operations, with the object, like the unjust steward, of securing to himself another situation if he should lose his employ with us.

July 4th. — Late in the afternoon sighted Caroline Island, formerly uninhabited; but we carried several native families there with pigs, fowls, turkeys, &c., to form an establishment for rearing stock. The settlement we have established is on the south by west side of the island, and as it was too dark when we reached it to pay a visit of inspection, we lay to till morning.

July 5th. — Caroline Island is a lagoon island, but its links of land are better connected, and possess a richer soil, than most of the islands of the Paumutu group. The south side of the island is densely wooded, and possesses a glorious grove of cocoa-nut trees — our inducement for forming the establishment. A smaller and an only other grove exists on the south-south-west side; the other variety of trees are those common to the Paumutus, but I did not notice the pandanus. Compared with the lagoon islands of the Paumutus, the lagoon is small to the extent of the island, which, according to our estimation, is from thirteen to fifteen miles in circumference. Its centre we made to be in latitude 9° 56′ S., longitude, 150° 14′ W. Our stock at this time amounts to between 100 and 200 fine hogs, fowls, &c., in quantity; our stock-men and women looked thriving and healthy, and had made three additions to their number; the young ones fat and squalling. It has been our invariable plan to spread as many fruit and vegetable seeds as we could amongst the islands, and now, at Caroline Island, they have more pumpkins, melons, ninitas, &c. than they can consume. Settled with our stock-men to date, and with twelve recruits

for the oil establishment, bore away for Fanning's Island.

July 10*th.*—Made Christmas Island. This island has been the scene of some recent wrecks: the Mozart Bremen whaler, with 4000 barrels of oil and a considerable quantity of bone, homeward bound from the Sandwich Islands, ran ashore and became a complete wreck in the end of December last. The crew were taken off by another vessel that happened to be in company, an American whaler. Her captain, with the genuine shrewdness of a Yankee, not being sure of his ground, dropped astern, leaving the other one to feel the way for him. Scarcely had the wrecked crew effected their escape, when the Maria Helena merchantman, under the Chili flag, laden with a valuable cargo, ran ashore, and was literally crushed to atoms. The passengers and crew were saved, but one of the latter was subsequently drowned in the surf. The Maria Helena was formerly the Averick whaler (see entry March 19th, 1845); and after Captain H—— had succeeded in putting her in thorough repair, he obtained a British sailing letter of protection for her, and under the name of Recovery, because we had regained her from the deep, we sent her to Valparaiso for sale, and I was now doomed to be "in at the death," last scene of all,—and a melancholy one it was. The Mozart was wrecked on the east by north point of the island, and the Maria Helena in a bight about five miles further to the westward and northward. The island is egregiously in error on the charts, which occasioned the wrecks; and it is

a most dangerous one to make, no part of it being ten feet above the level of the sea. Nothing but a naked grey ridge discloses itself to the eye, save an occasional patch of low stunted scrub, scarcely distinguishable; and in the gleaming, or in the gauze-like light shed by the moon, a vessel would be ashore ere land could be detected.

A heavy surf was breaking off the Mozart wreck, too dangerous for us to incur the risk of landing; but we waited our opportunity, and landed at the scene of the Maria Helena's destruction. Two well erected tents remained standing, and the beach for upwards of a mile was strewed with fragments of the wreck. Set our people to work to collect any thing worth carrying away, and directed our footsteps across the island to gain the Mozart wreck. At the place where we landed a barrier-ridge of loose coral shingle has been thrown up. On surmounting this, you descend a few feet, and come to a flat of a dead level, extending for miles, as far as the eye can see, without a swell or undulation, and with scarcely even a bush to relieve the dreariness of the torrid waste. The pumiceous soil is meagrely clothed with a thin withered-looking species of grass; and we fell in with some herbaceous plants, new to us, having a pungent aromatic odour, in which my companion fancied his nose detected medicinal virtues. I have already disclaimed any pretensions to a knowledge of botany; and though I did fancy, on crushing the leaves of some plants, that they gave forth an odour very like that one meets with in

a chemist's shop, I am obliged to deplore the loss science sustains from my inability to describe them technologically. In our tramp we disturbed swarms of sea-fowl, protecting their young, or sitting on their eggs, gannets, boobies, noddies, kittil-sakes, man-of-war hawks, curlews, sea-mews, and a variety of others. The eggs were carelessly deposited on the soil, without shelter of any kind, and the female would hiss and cackle at us as we approached them, and would even allow us to push them from their charge without their abandoning it. One bird we noticed from its peculiar cry and habits, it perforates the crustaceous soil, and burrows like a rabbit. In size not so big as a common house-pigeon, it yet deposits an egg as large as a small hen's. The ground was so full of its perforations, that we were continually breaking through; but whenever we approached near the eggs, the bird would utter a melancholy note, and whirl round our heads, using manœuvres to entice us away similar to those practised by the lapwing in England. We noticed also a land-bird common to the Paumutu Islands, and which I never remarked elsewhere. The natives call it titi; it is an elegantly formed little bird, rather larger than the lark, but not so large as the thrush, regularly mottled with a reddish brown colour. The little creatures were exceedingly fearless; they would alight at our feet, and if we chased them, would only run from us, or at most make a flight of a few yards. They appeared incapable of any long sustained flight, and the wonder is how they

first became tenants of these waste spits of the ocean. Ethnologists have been at work to account for man's appearance amongst the islands of Polynesia; now here's a nut for ornithologists to crack: I am entirely at a loss to conjecture from what country the wind blew that brought them there.

The wreck of the Mozart was one commingled mass. The tents erected by her people were in good preservation, and bore evidence of subsequent occupation by the crew of the Maria Helena. Provisions and water had been saved in abundance, and about six tons of water still remained in good condition; but the oil and bone, &c. was overwhelmed in one inextricable mass of wreck, sand, and coral fragments: and the beach for miles was strewed with empty casks, broken spars, and other fragments of the unfortunate craft. There is no water to be obtained upon the island, and it must have proved a most merciful dispensation to the Maria Helena's people, that so much had been saved from the Mozart, as, judging from appearances, I do not think a drop of rain has fallen upon the island since the disastrous events took place. But sailors are proverbially a light-hearted race, little given to reflection; and having no immediate fear of perishing from hunger or thirst, the wrecked crew of the Maria Helena converted their misfortunes into a scene of mirth. A painted sign announced the encampment to be Mozart Village, and nearly all the tents bore their respective signs. There was the Mozart Hotel, the Hôtel de France, the Traveller's Inn, &c.: and on the Hôtel de France was

inscribed, "Billiards;" and a notice in three languages —

"English spoken here.
Un Français parle ici.
Oune Espanol hable aqui."

There were also other notices to the public. I remember two: one was, "Lost, stolen, or strayed, a Bottle of Snuff. Whoever will give information of the same shall be ransomely rewarded. Apply at the Traveler's Inn." The other was headed by the figure of a whale-boat; and underneath was written, "Wanted, Six Young Men to go Thanning's Island. Apply at the Traveller's Inn." They had got a rudely constructed flat-bottomed vessel of twelve or fourteen tons burthen nearly completed, with which it is supposed they meant to try and reach the Navigator's Islands, as its only chance, if ever they succeeded in getting it afloat, was in letting it drift before the wind; but I deem it a happy circumstance they were saved risking the experiment. The departure of the company appeared as if effected in a great hurry, everything being abandoned; plates, and knives, and forks, on the rude tables, and clothes in the sleeping places, just as they had been last used. A book we picked up explained this. It was a book of mathematical exercises, in the German language; and on the titlepage, was written "Johann Frederick Sartorius, Bremen;" but the next possessor, in the large straggling fist of one more acquainted with the marline spike than the pen, tells us that it is

"George Macready's Book, 1848:" and then follows, "Got cast away on Christmas Island, January 5th, 1847:" the latter date being erroneously inscribed from the badness of the pen, probably. There are sundry other entries, occupying much paper—snatches of fo'castle songs, attempts at writing Spanish, &c.; and in turning the pages, we came to an attempt at log-keeping. As the entries are one of the seamen's accounts of the wreck, I here transcribe them to my Journal, *verbatim et literatim.*

"*January 5th,* 1848.

"I was cast away at Christmas Island about three o'clock in the morning; all hands was employed about half an hour before that, killing porpoises. I myself was at the helm an hour previous to that, anticipating the pleasures at the end of the voyage, little thinking that in one hour more the good old ship Maria Helena was to leave her bones here on this desolate island, where there is nothing but sand, and nothing to subsist on but boobies, and no water. As soon as the ship struck, the gentlemen passengers and some of the crew took to the boats, while the rest was employed getting out the launch before we cut away the masts. After we got the launch out, the remainder of the crew commenced packing up their clothes and their shipmates: thus every thing was carried on in the most proper order and discipline. Although there was plenty of liquor on board, I never remember seeing any one out of order. The first boat went

on shore got capsized; but after some difficulty, got safe on shore. The surf was very high, but by good management, before the ship broke up, we saved almost all the water and provision; and after we got all the provision ashore that we could get, we commenced building tents, expecting to remain here some months. So ends these twenty-four hours.

"*January 6th*, 1848.

"This day commences with all hands busily employed saving the bone, thinking if ever we should get off the island, it might be of some service to us. There was a great deal of growling about the work among the crew, as the most of them had considerable wages coming to them; but after a little fair talk and promises, it was all over. The next operation was to put all hands on allowance of water, at half a gallon a day. We rigged some water-awnings, expecting every day to see it rain, as the clouds looked heavy, but no appearance of any. Some said it must rain, as we were so close to the line; but others said no, that there was a curse upon us. Mr. Christie, passenger, and the second mate, and three men, went off on an expedition round the island to look for water. So ends these twenty-four hours."

Here the entries cease, Mr. Macready having apparently condensed in these two days all the events of interest that occurred to his memory; and

in imitation of the log-books which, perhaps for the first time, had become unfolded to his inquiring gaze, closes each day's laudable attempt in true Nantucket style — "So ends these twenty-four hours."

At the end of the volume we discovered the following memorandum, in the same unmistakeable characters.

"*Friday, March* 16*th*, 1848.

* * *

"Long-looked-for came at last. As one of our bold seamen was loafing along the beach and seeing what he could plunder, he espied a sail about ten miles off standing in shore, which proved afterwards to be the French sloop-of-war Sarcelle coming to our relief: she had a supply of provision on board for us. There was also another schooner left Honolulu two days before, which arrived the next day after the ship, with more provision, and for the bone which we saved." * * *

The remainder of the entry is torn off. The bone alluded to by Mr. Macready had been carried off with boats, and every thing else that was available; but our party had succeeded in rescuing from the encumbering masses of wreck, sand, and broken casks, some blades of bone, which appeared in good condition, although considerably abraded. Went aboard, leaving a gang ashore for the night to see what they could rescue.

July 11*th*. — People engaged all day at the wreck. Sent off three boat-loads of odds and ends.

Took a cruize into the interior; but did not penetrate more than two miles, as there was no visible termination to the sterile level; and the intense heat provoked great thirst. Disturbed hundreds of man-of-war hawks, who were guarding their young; and so dauntless were they, that I had to defend my face with my stick. The birds of the ocean must have some place away from the haunts of man to rest from their wanderings o'er the deep, and to retire during the season of incubation, or they would soon become extinct: these dreary wastes would almost appear to have been designed expressly for them. One of our men who strayed away last night in pursuit of eggs and birds has not yet returned.

July 12th. — On attempting to land this morning, we were caught in the rollers, which dashed the boat on the rocks with furious velocity, smashing its bows to atoms. The surf curled over us, but we all escaped ashore uninjured. Happening to be standing in the stern-sheets when the concussion took place, I was thrown forward with great violence, and got my shins well barked against the aftermost thwart; but this was all the personal damage that was sustained. The natives, knowing the awkwardness of white men in the surf, called out for me; and one was at my side in an instant, who gave me his hand to steady me against the drawback. The sensation when the rollers caught us was highly exciting; steam could not have propelled us more swiftly to destruction: and the concussion gave such a shock to my jaws, that all

my upper teeth seemed driven into my skull. Fortunately, to provide against accident, we had another boat ashore, or we should have been in a nice predicament.

The lost native had come back to his companions, but his sufferings from thirst had rendered him idiotic. Unaccustomed to roam on any thing but the narrow ledges skirting the Paumutu Isles, when he lost sight of the sea, reason and reckoning forsook him, and he wandered about with a vacant mind, till chance brought him in sight of the tents again. Our other boat got swamped and stove in endeavouring to put off to the vessel. We patched up the holes with tin over greased flannel, and afterwards contrived to send on board several loads of cask-staves, heading, &c., all much worn with the triturating action of the sea and land. To stimulate our natives to exertion, we were obliged to work all day ourselves amidst the wreck and rubbish; and whenever we turned away for any purpose, down they were on their beam ends: they had exhausted themselves by "seeing what they could plunder in the night." Whilst thus engaged personally in the manual operation of "wrecking," my attention was frequently arrested by the proceedings of the man-of-war hawk, the dastardly glutton! — it ill deserves its name, piratical hawk would be a more appropriate nomenclature. I would observe the gannet with its thick straight bill, bent on supplying its young, poise a moment in the air, and with lightning speed, dart beneath the surface of the water. If successful, it would rise with a fish in its mandible. But I had not

been the only observer; scarcely had the gannet risen from its submersion, when it became in its turn the object of attack: the man-of-war hawks, who had been on the "look out," would pounce upon him by twos and threes; and if poor gannet had got a fish, they would stoop at him till he disgorged his prey, when it became theirs. How the "pirates" managed in the division of their spoil I cannot determine; but all day long they could be seen watching and pursuing every solitary gannet that came within their ken. About three o'clock, seizing a favourable chance, I leapt into the boat, as in the event of her being rendered useless, I could never swim off to the vessel.

July 13th.—Summoned our people early on board, and coasted the island on our way to Fanning's Island. There is a sunken reef running round the island for a cable or two's length from the shore, having on it water from a foot in depth to four or five fathoms; this will account for the ridges of coral debris heaped up by the action of the waves. Where there are breaks in the reef, and the water is steep too, nothing but the bare sand is visible. By various sets of sights, we determined Christmas Island to lie nearly in a south-east and north-west direction. The south-east end we made in lat. 1° 43′ N., long. 157° 11′ W.; the north-west point in lat. 2° 8′ N., and long. 157° 37′ W.; and the west point in long. 157° 42′ W. The wreck of the Maria Helena lies on the east-north-east side of the island in lat. 1° 48′ N., long. 157° 16′ W. The line of coast then forms an inward curve to the

north-east point, which is in lat. 2° 2′ N., long. 157° 27′ W. There are two or three scattered cocoa-nut trees on the island, and on the north-west point there is a small grove of them. Before reaching the north-west point, we observed a boat lying on the beach, and hove to for the purpose of reconnoitring. It appears to have been the boat abandoned by Mr. Christie in his fruitless search for water. It was badly stove and useless; so did not attempt to remove it. There is an opening in the island on the west side, where vessels may anchor, and an inlet of the sea extends for several miles, but it is so choked with patches of rock; and layers of dead coral, heaped slab upon slab, that it is difficult for a boat to find a channel between them, and without a compass you might continue pulling round and round without making any progress. There is no practicability of working at the wrecks from the lee side of Christmas Island. Convinced of this, we bade it adieu, and wished it "a happy new year."

July 15th.—Arrived at Fanning's Island, which we made to be in the position ascribed on the chart to America Island. It is between twenty and twenty-five miles in circumference, and the only entrance to its lagoon is on the south-west side, in lat. 3° 50′ north, long. 159° 22′ W. It partakes in all respects of the character of the Low Islands of the Paumutu or Dangerous Archipelago, its cincture of rock, sand, soil, and coral, sending forth all the arboriferous and vegetable productions common to the Paumutu Isles. The cocoa-nut tree especially flourishes in great luxuriance, and in addition to

other vegetation, the arrow-root thrives well on the north-west side of the island. The lagoon is studded with shoals and reefs. Mother-of-pearl shell is found in its bed in small quantities, but the natives say the bottom is composed of such fine impalpable sand, that the least thing agitates it, and causes it to impart to the water a milky hue, which effectually destroys all power of observation. Some months prior to our forming the oil establishment at Fanning's Island, a man of Crusoe habits had taken up his abode there with his family, and, isolated from the rest of the world, had devoted himself to the rearing of pigs, depending on the chance call of any whaler for a supply of those necessaries which his habits of civilisation had rendered indispensable. His location is on the starboard side of the entrance to the lagoon, and ours is on that immediately opposite; and as we made our appearance, the rival flags unfurled their folds. The modern Crusoe calls himself an American; but as I observed, "thy speech betrayeth thee." I pass over the reasons assigned for his wish to seclude himself from his countrymen, for whether they be true or false, a life of labour and self-imposed exile might serve to atone for the errors of his youth. His wife is a Kanaka woman of the Sandwich Islands, and he has a large family of children and grandchildren. I agreed to find permanent employ for the son-in-law, and promised to forward books, &c. for the education of the rising generation. The old man, in gratitude, told me of a wreck he had heard of further to leeward; an American whaler, with 2200 barrels of sperm oil, had been cast away

at Palmyra Island. Nine or ten months had elapsed since the catastrophe; but as the island in question is not in the direct route for ships homeward bound, if the old man is not confusing some account he may have heard of Christmas Island and the wreck there, a probability exists that the wreck he speaks of remains undisturbed, with the exception of the change wrought by the elements. The old man could have no object in entertaining me with a gratuitous falsehood; and balancing the chances, we came to the conclusion, that the venture to ascertain the truth was worth the risk of a trial. Applied for volunteers for the service. All our men were willing; but selecting thirteen, and having given ample instructions and admonitory precautions against designers, on *July* 18th we cleared the lagoon, and on *July* 19*th* sighted Washington Island. The chart was grossly in error; its position by us is latitude 4° 42′ N., longitude 160° 16′ W. It is about three miles long, and rather more than a mile in width; elevated from twelve to fifteen feet above the level of the sea; and its surface presents an unbroken mass of vegetation. A deep verdant foliage forms the basement to columns of cocoa-nut trees, which rear their tall shafts in such serried ranks, the eye could not penetrate them. We endeavoured from the masthead to ascertain if any lagoon existed, and believe not. Surf breaks close to the beach all round the island; dangerous landing for boats. Green water runs off the west point, in a north-west by north direction, for nearly two miles, but we saw no

breakers except those on the sandy beach. Sailed over part of the green water: bottom was clearly discernible—white sand and patches of coral. Made no attempt at landing, from the uninviting aspect of the surf. Birds seemed the sole tenants of the island; they flocked around us in great numbers, and the beach was swarming with them—a certain sign of the absence of that carnivorous animal, *man*. In the same parallel of latitude with Washington Island, but eighty minutes further to the westward, an island is laid down on the chart called "Prospect Island." We sailed to discover it, but saw no vestige of it; and I believe in its identity with Washington Island: the vivid freshness of the little isle, to some delighted eye that for a long time had been accustomed to nothing but the burning refraction of the torrid ocean, may have gained for it the name of "Prospect." A chance cruiser's chronometrical observations cannot be depended on. There is no question that America Island and Fanning's Island are one; two names, but one fact.

July 21*st*.—Palmyra Island was in sight this morning, but in consequence of a calm, it was late in the afternoon before we effected a landing. We spent the two following days in search of the vessel reported to have been cast away here, but no signs of it exist, nor does the island appear to have ever before been visited by the foot of man. It is, without exception, the most singular formation I have seen. We landed on the east side, the vessel having suddenly shoaled her water when about two miles from the breakers observed upon the land. We hove to in six

fathoms; bottom white sand and coral. A ridge of breakers extends half a mile from the south-east point of the island, and a similar one runs off the north-east point, which help to form a concave crescent, within which the water was placid; but the island itself elicited our astonishment. We landed without difficulty on a flat contained between the two curving points of breakers, which had on it barely sufficient depth of water for us to track the boat a quarter of a mile, when we reached an islet, with its luxuriant foliage growing apparently from the very surface of the water; and we then discovered that Palmyra Island is more properly an archipelago of islets. A rocky flat, from six to eight miles in circumference, is covered, with water from ankle to knee-deep, save where it is studded with islets placed indiscriminately. The islets rise only a few feet above the level of the water, and are composed of grey crystal rock, with a super-surface of rich black mould, yielding a rank growth of grass, vines, and trees common to the tropics, the cocoa-nut and pandanus being amongst them. Some of the islets appear exclusively appropriated to the cocoa-nut tree; on others, a strong parasitical vine, with broad deep green leaves, has overrun the pandanus and other trees, and enshrouded them in its own peculiar livery; and when at a distance, it is hard to persuade yourself you are not surveying the ruins of buildings. On one of the eastern islets a remarkable tree stood distinct from the others like an obelisk. So regularly had the outline been formed from the base to the summit, by the close investiture of the smoothly

overlapping leaves of the vine, that we believed it to be a monument raised by the wrecked people, until by landing we convinced ourselves to the contrary. Birds and fish alike were unscared at the presence of man; and, fairly or unfairly, I pursued one fish in the shoal water till I run him aground. Sharks were numerous, and so voracious that they attacked both the boat and the steering oar as we were pulling ashore. Birds were innumerable: and it being the season of incubation, I never witnessed such a scene in my life. You could not move your foot without crushing eggs; and the cries of the birds as they arose just above your head, and darkened the air, were deafening, and more peculiar than any combination of sounds I ever listened to. Green water extends off the south side of the island between two and three miles, and a distinct line of breakers runs from the south-west point about three quarters of a mile. A vessel might anchor in the bight on the south by west side, but she would have to warp into a berth, as sunken patches of rock lie scattered about with very little water on them: they were observed from aloft, but the sea was so smooth and still that they were unnoticed from the deck. On the west and north sides, the appearance is more that of one of the Paumutu Isles; the surf breaks on a strip of white sand, above which springs the green foliage. That we might have nothing to reproach ourselves with, we sent out thirteen volunteers to scour the island in search of any vestige of the wreck; they returned next day to the vessel, having seen no sign of man or his works. They reported occasional

chasms of deep water on the shoal flat, and brought us off two green turtle; and by the tracks they conceived the latter were numerous. From a series of observations, we made the island to be in latitude 5° 51′ N., longitude 162° 10′ W.; the chart places it 20′ further to the westward.

July 29th. — Again "let go" our iron in Fanning's Island harbour. Our old hands were getting obstreperous, as their time had expired; so we ordered them to collect their goods and chattels, and prepare for taking their departure, as we intended taking them to their homes on the day after to-morrow. The vagabonds broke into open rebellion, and many of them swore they would not leave; but as they had latterly been of considerable injury to us, and at no period of their engagement had wrought according to the spirit of their agreement, I was determined they should not stay, if I had to fist every mother's son of them. But I had to threaten them with cessation of pay, and all the pains and penalties of the law, before they would make any demonstration of packing up.

July 30th. — One of the natives died to-day, after a short illness of three days. He had been an athletic hale young man up to the moment of his being seized with sickness, when he at once became prostrate and powerless — helpless as a newborn babe. I did not hear until this morning that he was ill, and as soon as I was informed I hastened to see him. Poor fellow! death was already stamped on his lineaments. He had complained of oppression in the chest, and of pain at the back of the

neck and across the shoulders; but when I saw him he was past complaining, and had lapsed into a state of coma. His eye was glazed and sightless, his tongue dried and shrivelled, and all muscular power had ceased to exist. In the hope to stimulate the flagging current of his life, I recommended that they should breathe a vein in his arm; an incision was made, and a few sooty drops of the ensanguined fluid came sluggishly forth. I directed one of his countrymen to support him in a sitting posture; the attempt to raise him seemed to cause him pain, and with difficulty he gasped out, "atira ahoa!" (that will do, friend!). I signed for them to ease him down again, and with my fingers on his pulse, and whilst ruminating what could be done for him, the last throb of life ebbed away; and though my eye was intently bent upon his face, I could not detect the moment of the spirit's escape from the clod now before me, nor did any mysterious token announce that *eternity* had freed itself from *time*. An old man seated at the feet of the corpse was the first to announce the fact, but some minutes elapsed ere I could give credence to it.

July 31*st*. — We had to wait till long after sundown before the tide would admit of our leaving the harbour. There are no hidden dangers to encounter, and we got safe out with our living freight and their luggage. We have between sixty and seventy natives on board, including children.

August 8*th*. — In latitude 9° S., and longitude 157° 50′ W., Penrhyn's Island bore about four miles to the westward of us. It was blowing fresh, and

there was a heavy sea, so that we did not care about running to leeward to make a passing survey. Aided by observations from the masthead, we made it out to be a low lagoon island, ten or twelve miles long, with many of its broken patches or encompassing islets, densly crowded with cocoa-nut trees. From the absence of all birds hovering about its neighbourhood, we conjecture it to be inhabited. Our agent is of opinion that it is the same island he sighted on a previous return voyage from Fanning's Island; but as he had no chronometer, he then surmised it to be "Bennett's Island," which on the chart is in the same parallel of latitude, but nearly two degrees further to the eastward. It will not surprise me if it turns out that there is but the one island. Our agent was the next thing to becalmed off the north-east end of the island, and meditated going ashore, when he saw some canoes making towards him, full of natives armed with spears, and noticed other canoes outlying him, apparently with the object of preventing his escape. As he had only seven hands on board, all told, and they were without fire-arms, or defensive weapons of any description, they were for a short time in the most immense peril. One canoe, with ten men in her, had almost gained the vessel, when a breeze providentially sprung up to their rescue. Baulked of their prey, the natives thundered out shouts of exasperation and fury, and made use of threatening and indecent gesticulations. One fellow stood up in the bows of his canoe, and endeavoured to hurl his spear; but the jerking motion prevented his aim.

Even then they did not abandon hopes of capture, as they continued to give chase for nearly two hours. We did not delay to prove if it was the same island, as I had been suffering from a terrible attack of cramp in the stomach; and the remedies I had adopted had left me so debilitated, I was anxious to lose no time in getting to Tahiti. We found a strong current setting to the westward, three or four degrees on either side the equator, but stronger on the south side; for example, we were steering on a wind in a smooth sea, leaving a straight wake, heading south-east by south, and making no better than a south by west course.

August 14*th.* — A fair wind at last.

August 16*th.* — Ran into Huaru, the western harbour of Raiatea. Reposed for two days, and then started for Tahiti, which we reached 23rd, against a heavy head sea, and the wind dead on end.

Many complaints having gone in to the governor of the misconduct of the natives of Ana and other natives of the Paumutu Isles, who were behaving in open violation of all law, the governor determined on sending the frigate Sirène to restore order and the "rule of right;" and I was requested to go in the frigate, to represent the grievances we had been subjected to. On December 13th I went on board, as the frigate was getting under weigh.

December 20*th.* — Off Ana. The natives were somewhat astounded at our advent, as they were ignorant of our proximity till they saw the boats

in which we were about effecting a landing. A general meeting was convened, and the next day the natives assembled with their chiefs and judges to answer complaints and to prefer them. We had brought with us two of the native Tahitian judges, Taamu and Paete, to take part in the deliberations. Taamu, as senior judge, opened the proceedings by announcing the object of their coming, and appointed Paete speaker for the occasion. Various trials were entered into and disposed of, and two of the ring-leaders of misrule, Paiora and Iē, who had been notorious in their subversion of order and contempt for the constituted laws, were sent on board the frigate, to be dealt with in Tahiti. I then caused some men to be tried for breaking their agreement with us, and for injuring our business by misrepresentations and wilful falsehoods, putting us to much trouble and expense. The accused parties boldly denied the truth of what I asserted; declared that no agreement ever existed; and the very judge before whom the conditions of the agreement were entered into deliberately perjured himself. Upon this I produced the agreement, drawn out in the native tongue, with the signatures of the parties appended. One and all, with the jolliest air imaginable, denied all knowledge of such agreement; and even one of the attesting witnesses, a chief of inferior rank, joined them in their denial.

I felt myself in a pretty *fix*, and was at a loss what course to pursue; but Paete, the speaker, concealing the agreement behind him, called to the

chief man of the accused party. "You are sure," inquired he, "that you never signed the agreement?"

"Never!" was the unflinching rejoinder.

"Well, here's a pencil and paper, come and write your name here."

Not suspecting the trap, the fellow seemed rather proud at this opportunity of displaying his acquirements in presence of the hundreds that were assembled, and wrote his name with *an air*. Paete brought forward the agreement and compared the signatures, and they corresponded so exactly, that a Daguerreotype copy could not have furnished a closer resemblance. It was as if the two signatures had been governed by one and the same movement. The shouts of derisive laughter that followed this conviction humbled my jolly gentlemen to the dust; they were completely crest-fallen, and looked as if it would be by no means an undesirable occurrence if the earth would open for a convenient space to admit of their taking unobtrusive leave of the company. I was consulted as to what punishment I wished inflicted. I caused a homily to be given them as a guide for their future conduct, and contented myself with merely deducting from their pay the absolute money I had been compelled to expend on account of their wilfulness. My forbearance called forth unqualified approbation; and the court broke up for that day. On the following morning another grand convocation ensued, when Paete expounded the laws that had been collected, revised, and printed in the native tongue by the French Government; and

whilst this Lycurgus was in the midst of an eloquent exposition, arms and legs keeping time to the modulations of his voice, I betook myself to the frigate. In an hour or two afterwards, the whole party again reassembled on board, and we bore up for Tahiti, which we reached in time for those residing ashore to partake of Christmas dinner with their friends.

CHAP. IX.

Purchase a Vessel, and is bound for China. — Call at Faarava to take in Cargo. — An Elopement. — Pursuit. — Capture. — Punishment. — The Gift of a Piece of Land, and with it the Patronymic of the Donor. — Clear the North-north-west Passage from the Lagoon. — Pass over the Position assigned by Commodore Wilkes to Walker Island, and see no Sign of it. — Hawaii. — Observations on the so-called South-east Trades. — Maui Island. — Ranai Island and Morokai. — Oahu Honolulu. — Its Harbour. — Effects of the Discovery of a Gold Region in California. — Ministers of King Kamehamaha. — The People's Regard for Lord George Paulet. — Appearance of the Natives. — Saturday the Gala-day. — Native Houses, &c. — The Gold Fever excites the Fever of Desertion in the Crew. — Send the Vessel outside the Harbour. — The Vessel struck by a Whale. — The Weather-wise out again in their Predictions. — Speak a Whaler bound to the Sea of Japan. — Reflections on the Policy of the Japanese, &c. — Sail between Grigan and Pagon Islands. — Norie's Chart not correct. — Sail through the Bashee Islands. — A Hint to Mariners. — Reminiscences of Home done into Verse.

"Now fare thee well, mine only love,
Now fare thee well a while;
For I will come again, my love,
Though 'twere ten thousand mile."

"The waters, with their world, were all before;
Behind, the South Sea's many an island shore."

In order to convey our island-produce to the Chinese mart, being unable to charter a vessel, we were constrained to purchase the Chili barque Ann, which

arrived here with stores for government, putting her under the protectorate flag, with the name of Mary, in compliment to my wife.

January 11*th.* — This day I took leave of my wife and family for an indefinite period, and sailed for the Paumutus, intending after loading to proceed to the Sandwich Islands, and to be guided as to what port I should then steer for according to the information acquired.

January 18*th.* — Worked close up to the south extreme of the island of Faarava. The facilities of ingress and egress to its harbours by vessels of burthen, had tempted us to erect stores upon this island, and to constitute it our depôt for the receipt of the produce bartered for at the various islands of the group. When opposite the southern entrance, we lowered to examine the passage. The current was setting out, and as the day was far advanced, we carried a native of the island with us, and returned to the vessel to await for the dawn of that which it is paradoxically asserted never comes — to-morrow.

January 19*th.* — The wind was favourable, and after a re-examination of the passage with the boat, flood-tide having commenced, we ventured in with the barque, to the great admiration of the natives, who had never seen so large a vessel floating in their lagoon before. Just as we had cleared the most dangerous part of the passage, a smart squall of wind and rain met us slap in the teeth: the vessel heeled to the blast, and we could not see her own length beyond her; the helm was put hard down, but still our native kept crying out "ouai moa, ouai moa!"

(rocks ahead, rocks ahead). It was impossible for *us* to distinguish any thing, and in this uncertainty we made one or two short tacks and "brought up" almost in the same spot where I first anchored in the Fairy.

January 20th. — The man in charge of our station not having made his appearance, we got under weigh for it; it is sixteen miles off. As we are in south latitude, I suppose it should be called *lower* down the lagoon, *i. e.* further to the northward. No hidden obstacle now interfered with our passage, as the sun was favourable for our distinguishing the coral knolls dispersed at intervals, after we had passed the twelfth mile; they are not frequent, and by keeping more to the centre of the lagoon than we did in the Fairy, may easily be avoided.

Whilst engaged taking in the cargo, it transpired that a native whom we had employed to convey a letter to our overseer, had made off with another man's wife. Pursuit was given, and a party of men spent several days in search of the fugitives; at length they were captured and brought to trial. This was the third time that the parties had committed a similar breach; and as they had nothing to say in their defence, the man was fined in the penalty of ten pigs, and the woman in forty fathoms of cloth. As neither of the parties sentenced possessed, individually, a tithe of the value of the fines they were mulcted in, the relatives of both were called on to make good the deficiency, and the adulterous woman was ordered to return to her husband. She positively refused to comply with the latter part of the

sentence; and, owing to her contumacy, a tree was felled by her judge, and a rude pair of stocks quickly constructed, into which one of her legs was thrust, and she was told she would be kept there till she consented to submit to the lawful rule of her lord. This pleasing announcement she received by advising the judges, "that in such case they would have to keep her there till she was rotten, as she never would return to her husband." Some thatch was raised over her to protect her from the sun and rain, and she really appeared quite contented with her situation, notwithstanding she had to undergo the jeers and taunts of her relatives, who, as the fine fell wholly upon them, wanted to know "why she did not yield up the clothes from her back?" The frail one was by no means in the young and skittish hey-day of her blood, and the partner of her folly was well advanced in life, so that I wondered what "riot in her veins" could have tempted her astray: but when I saw her husband, the wonder ceased; for imbecility and malicious devilry were depicted in every line of his puckered face. I remonstrated against keeping the woman confined in her cruel position, and suggested that, as she and her husband could not agree, the best way would be to let the fines be paid, and then divorce them. But to this the husband would not consent; and the judge intimated, that "white men had prescribed their laws, and why should I reproach them?" and they handed me a printed copy of the code furnished by the missionaries. So the poor woman was kept in the stocks until the day I

paid off the natives who had been employed in shipping the cargo, &c. All this time the husband was staying in a house only a few yards from the stocks, waiting till he received the fines, which I suppose he got when the men were paid. He then started for the weather harbour, where he resided, and his wife was put into another canoe that followed shortly after, to be kept, I presume, till another opportunity offered to tempt the crafty old scoundrel to extort fines.

As the natives are a fickle uncertain race, apt to play tricks with those whom they fancy in their power, I asked them to sell me a piece of land, in order that we might erect substantial buildings to store any produce we might collect. A long series of debates followed my request, and night after night we could hear the orators discussing the question. One evening in particular, when I had gone ashore to bathe, they commenced the subject in my presence; to terminate further discussion, I told them they could do as they pleased, but if they would not lease or sell a piece of land,—land utterly unproductive and useless to them,—I would bring no more property to their island, but would seek some other. At the same time I pointed out that their island yielded no produce that they could barter for articles of clothing, or other things they required; and that our presence amongst them, with variety of property, much of which would certainly go to them in exchange for labour, ought to render them too glad to give us land on any terms; nevertheless, it rested entirely with themselves, and I should trouble my head no

more about the matter. In the morning I was told that a piece of land had been marked out for me, but no payment would be received for it. A man who had selected me as his taio, or friend, had made me a present of the land; and, in accordance with an early aboriginal custom, had also given me his name and assumed mine, so that I now rejoice in the appellation of Titeri. This is a stroke of diplomacy on the part of Titeri the veritable, much to be admired. If I had given him any stipulated amount of property, his relations of the twentieth remove would have come in like wolves for their share of the prey; and others who received no benefit would have borne him feelings of envy and jealousy: all this he made me sensible of, that I might govern my gifts to him so that his own immediate family should receive the chief benefit.

February 4th.—Having taken in all the cargo ready for us, at seven o'clock A.M. we lifted our anchor, and by eleven o'clock A.M. had cleared the north-north-west entrance to the lagoon. The tide had commenced running in, and although we had a five-knot breeze, we found difficulty in stemming it. On the route from our station, we passed two or three treacherous sunken knolls, barely perceptible, and only distinguishable by a pale green shimmering of the water; but with a careful look out, to those accustomed to lagoon navigation there is no hazard, as there is room to work vessels of any tonnage, and the north-north-west outlet is the most spacious and the best of all the passages I have seen amongst the islands of the Paumutu group.

February 19th.—This day, at two P. M. we were in latitude 3° 56′ N., and longitude 149° 10′ W. We passed over the position assigned to an island by Commodore Wilkes, of the "Younited States of Amerikey's Exploring Expedition,"* and called in his chart "Walker Island." If it was seen by him, it was not inappropriately named, as *Walker* it is to all intents and purposes; nor could we, from the foretop-gallañt-yard, in any direction see sign or token of it.

February 28th.—"Never, whatever may be the progress of the sciences, will the *savant* who is conscientious and careful of his reputation, speculate on a prediction of the weather:" so says Monsieur Arago, no mean astronomer, and I have had ample proof in my experience, how idle such speculations are. We received reiterated assurances on leaving Tahiti, that we should have fine *south-east trades* to carry us to the Sandwich Islands, and were advised to keep to windward of the group, to escape baffling winds and calms. It was confidently predicted that we should make the passage in fourteen or fifteen days; but what has been the result? Ever since leaving Faarava we have been close hauled upon a wind, and in spite of every effort, we could not weather Hawaii, which is the largest and most weatherly situated of the islands. We made the south-east side of it this morning, and the prospect before us was very beautiful, not a cloud shaded its glories; it rises with a majestic sweep from the ocean, till its summit, at the height nearly of 14,000

* Genu-ine Yankee euphonism.

feet, is rounded into a crescent or crown of snow. This was the Great Mountain, Mowna-roa-loa, and over its eastern shoulder we could discern the snow-capped peaks of Mowna-keah the White Mountain. Not a tree is to be seen, the green sloping sides, forming a wide stretching graduated descent, like the verdant banks of a lawn, till lost in the sea. The south-western view is not so grand; it wears a bleak aspect, such as Blackheath would assume if suddenly elevated.

I don't believe in the existence of the south-east trades: my experience has shown me, that south of the equator within the tropic, we are more likely to have east by north to east-north-east winds, than easterly winds with southing in them, — that is, in the Pacific. At present, after having been twenty-four days from port, we are luxuriating in a calm.

March 1*st.* — We flapped lazily along the west and north-westerly sides of Hawaii, which are still more broken and sterile in appearance; mountainous peaks capped with snow displaying themselves occasionally, as thick clouds rolled away, and deep sombre-looking valleys, shut out by the shadow of the mountains from the light of the sun: not a tree could we *distinguish.* Subsequently, we passed the islands of Maui, Ranai, and Morokai. The first is bold, and appears to be two islands joined by an isthmus, like Tahiti; Ranai is small and clump-shaped; and Morokai is a long outstretching island, of no great width, bold and mountainous at its eastern extremity, but shelving in a westerly direction, till it appears to have exhausted its powers of tension.

March 2nd.—Towards evening we closed in with Oahu. Its harbour, called Honolulu, is on its south by west side. As we drew nearer, this island seemed to speak more plainly of volcanic combustion: hills and peaks are justled together; rocks and islets detached from the main; and vallies resembling the basins of craters,—and still not a tree to be seen. Diamond Head, on the eastern side of the harbour, is an excellent landmark to guide you to it. At a distance it appears like a detached point, but it joins the main by a curving neck; and on closer examination, you may imagine it to have been thrown up in a liquid state, but becoming rigid, its interior had bubbled over, and rolled in broad sheets to the sea, leaving scarped surfaces now covered with the moss of ages. On rounding this singular point, we obtained sight of the shipping in the harbour, and soon after the pilot came on board, and we dropped anchor in the roads. A flat reef runs out for a mile or two, in some parts nearly awash, and in others covered with water from two to five feet in depth. Through this reef there is a winding inlet, terminating in a basin, possessing from three to six fathoms water; and this is Honolulu Harbour. Without the reef there is anchorage in any thing, from seven to thirty fathoms, but the holding ground is not good; buoys are placed along the channel, but I would prefer trusting to the practical skill of the pilot. When the wind is scant, but of a leading nature, or in total calms, the pilot stations from thirty to forty men on the reef at the edge of the channel, and by aid of ropes they track vessels in. I

was rather surprised at the extent of the town, if disappointed at the commodious nature of its haven. It possesses many excellently built houses, and its streets cross each other at angles, forming irregular squares, — trapeziums, I believe, the learned would call them. At the back of the town a crater-like hill rears its head, termed, from its fancied resemblance, the Punch Bowl — a rare bowl for the devil to sup liquid fire from.

I saw two sickly groves of cocoa-nut trees; but there is an entire absence of the rich verdure and luxuriant foliage which renders the scenery of the islands south of the equator so fascinating. The land, too, is swampy in the valley, and I hear that rheumatic complaints are very general. The islands are just rallying from a dreadful visitation, which had decimated their population. The United States frigate, Independence, had carried the measles to them about three months prior to our arrival, which had swept the natives away in shoals, as the measles were succeeded by the whooping cough, and other incidental diseases. One of the missionary residents apprised me, that at the island of Morkai, which had suffered least from the sickness, one out of twelve of the inhabitants had perished; but at the other islands the visitation had been more dreadful; and from an approximate calculation, it was estimated that not less than 10,000 natives had been carried of by the baleful disorder. Our appearance amongst the Indian race is more direful in its consequences than the fabled shadow of the upas tree.

I can readily believe that, in fine weather, many

beautiful excursions may be made in Oahu, as it possesses all the elements of savage grandeur in sea and mountain, precipice and rocky fall; but the weather was unpropitious, and I dared not venture on any distant jaunt.

Judging from details that were furnished me, I imagine that for the last few years as much business has been transacted at Honolulu, as at any place of its size upon the globe; but latterly, within seven or eight months, a rush has been made to California, in consequence of the discovery of a gold region of unknown extent, and the islands in the Pacific are emptying themselves of their white population to flock thither. Rumour after rumour reached us in Tahiti, but we were unwilling to credit the reports. At length parties appeared, bringing with them their swags of the precious metal, having made their "eternal" as the Yankees called it, and bound to their respective homes to enjoy it. The sight created a "*gold fever*," and every one who could muster sufficient to pay his passage commenced packing up for the land of El Dorado. The tales in the Arabian Nights are put to shame, and poor Dick Whittington's speculation as to the streets of London being paved with gold, are more than realised. The immense sums of gold that are reported to have been taken are incredible, and still the cry is, that not one half the truth is known. Both whites and browns are flocking from the Sandwich Islands; and the impossibity of procuring labour at San Francisco for the ordinary purposes of life, is such, that day labourers are receiving ten dollars per day, when they will con-

descend to work; cooks, on board vessels plying up the river Sacramento, 150 dollars per month; teamsters 200 dollars per month, and their board; and every thing else is in the same outrageous proportion. The stores in Honolulu that were glutted with goods previous to this wonderful epoch are now emptied, and merchants are homeward bound with realised capital. The most extravagant prices, are asked; and even to the immaculate Hudson's Bay Company's store the contagion has spread, their servants demanding the same ratio of prices ruinous to visitors not coming from San Francisco. I remonstrated playfully with a pale flat-faced Highlander in charge of the store, against his putting on the *screw* so powerfully: "By Jove," said I, "it isn't the screw your applying, but the hydraulic press. Sir George Simpson has announced to the world, that the Company is content with reasonable profit over cost and charges; but here you're charging fifty per cent on the wholesale prices over what we ask retail in Tahiti; I think I must undeceive the world."

"Do your best, ma friend; ye may tak' it or leave it, I don't care a farthing," was the conciliatory rejoinder; and Donald thrust his hands deep into the pockets of that garment proverbially unworn on the heather of his native hills, and balanced himself on his toes and heels, with an air of unflinching determination and satisfied self-importance.

"There's one part of your polite intimation quite unnecessary," replied I, "for I suppose I may retain my money without requiring your permission to do so; and I will assuredly want your goods before I

pay the exorbitant price you ask for them:" and with this I turned away thinking of the old proverb, "Put a beggar on horseback," &c.

I was desirous of seeing King Kamehamaha; but of late he has been, from interested motives, surrounded by his advisers with such ridiculous state ceremonies, that I could not sacrifice my own self-respect by going through the necessary forms to obtain an interview. He has for minister of foreign relations, I am told, a British subject, who has renounced fealty to his own country, and sworn allegiance to the Kanaka king. On hearing this, memory recalled that passage in "Tom Cringle's Log" where Aaron Bang, I think it is, pointing to one of the noble trees in Jamaica withering in the embraces of a pernicious vine, makes the remark, "A Scotchman hugging a Creole;" and verily I believe that the sap of Kamehamaha's tree, will one day become exhausted by the parasites that feed upon it. For minister of finance, poor Kamehamaha has got a citizen of the United States, likewise a forsworn man, who quitted the compounding of drugs and the missionary cause for the keys of the treasury and affairs of state. He is at this moment under impeachment for malversation; but he has acquired such ascendancy over the king's mind, that it is believed he will escape from the charge. "In the multitude of counsellors there is safety," but the unhappy king appears to have fallen amongst thieves.

I had no opportunity of ascertaining what the inclinations of the chiefs were, but the feelings of

the mobocracy are strongly in favour of Lordi Shorge Pauliti.* They declare it was very good for Lordi Shorge to take the islands, and express their disgust at the subsequent conduct of Admiral Thomas: nor do I wonder at it, as the poor natives under the present administration, notwithstanding the poll-tax, land-tax, and other taxes, are compelled to work so many days in a month gratuitously, for their king and chiefs. This tax may be commuted by the parties paying one or two rials for each day he is called upon; but as the Irishman said, "Pigs and potatoes are plentiful in Ireland, and fowls might be had for sixpence a piece, but, faith! where were the sixpences to come from?"

The Sandwich Islanders cannot compare with the Tahitian race, in personal appearance or carriage; they have a downcast and dog-sort of look with them that well might become a land of serfs. Some of the better sort have been educated by the missionaries, but I could not learn that any of them had influence in the councils of their country. All posts of importance are held by the whites, whose dictum without doubt holds sway; and, ere many generations have elapsed, it is my opinion that the white race, like Aaron's devouring rod, will have swallowed up the aboriginal tribes.

Saturday is the natives' grand gala day, and every one that can sport a horse is sure to be mounted. The women ride astride, and with the gay colour of their peculiar dress present an exceedingly picturesque

* Lord George Paulet.

appearance. When about to indulge in equestrian exercise, they wear a wrapper, called a tihei, generally of some bright colour, fastened round their waists, outside their gowns, similar to the pareu of Tahiti, only it is double the length: after mounting the long drapery is twisted round their legs, and the ends flutter on either side the horse. Some of the girls wear many-coloured ponchos, and round straw hats, rakishly bestowed on one side the head; and to see a bevy of these damsels fearlessly galloping along the densely crowded road is quite an exhilarating spectacle.

The native houses are of simple contrivance, adapted to the climate and country. The skeleton frame is composed of light rods lashed together, and sides and roofs are thatched in with a species of wiry grass procured from the marshy districts At a distance they look like so many haystacks, for they exactly resemble them in form. I occupied one of these unceiled grass houses, and enjoyed my novel abode: it was from thirty to forty feet square, and divided into two compartments by a folding curtain; and was one of a lot called "Collingwood Row," from the officers of the Collingwood having engaged this quarter. There is not a question as to the feeling entertained towards the British by the people; and I cannot refrain noting a circumstance in illustration of it. I requested the native owner of the grass house, who spoke English, to procure me some trifles which came to six dollars, and as I had no money with me, told him I would repay him when I had an opportunity of going on board. As it

happened I did not go near the vessel for a day or two, and the man became anxious for his money. "What the devil do you take me for?" said I, pettishly; "do you know I am an Englishman?" The fellow beat a hasty retreat, and I heard him telling the others outside, in tones of great satisfaction, that I was "Ingerish! Ingerish!" Nor was I again troubled with any importunities, but, on the contrary, any thing I required was obtained for me without scruple.

I was noticing to one of the foreign residents the great scarcity of trees in Sandwich Island scenery; but he assured me, that, instead of Hawaii being the lawn-like grassy slope I had imagined it, there were immense, and nearly impenetrable, forests of heavy timber on its bosom, at the altitude of from 2000 to 5000 feet from the level of the sea. It was distance that "lent enchantment to the view." But, anyhow, timber is scarce enough, and dear enough, at Oahu. Notwithstanding these inaccessible forests, firewood for culinary purposes fetches as high as ten and twelve dollars a chord.

We had been compelled to bring the Mary into the harbour, and in consequence, three of our men deserted for the California "gold diggings;" and two thirds of the crew applied for their discharge. The consul gave us a hint to be off as soon as possible, frankly declaring that the temptation to the men was so great, that he had it not in his power to restrain them, or to prevent their deserting. The captain took the vessel outside at once, on the morning of March 10th, and I joined him in the afternoon by a shore boat.

March 11*th.* — This evening we were somewhat startled by a whale breaching from underneath the vessel. The unwieldy monster struck the rudder as he hove his leviathan bulk to the surface of the water, and communicated a shock throughout the floating fabric. It was fortunate for us that the monster did not meet us "head on," or we might have shared the fate of the Essex, an American whaler, which was breached at three times by a whale, and was literally crushed in by the irresistible might of the infuriate king of the deep. Two souls only escaped to tell the tale. It is supposed that it was a bull whale, who fancied he was attacking one of his own species. At the season when the male seeks the female, they are exceedingly fierce, and engage in desperate conflicts. Our friend "spouted" close under our stern, and made off in a deuce of a hurry, probably as much astonished as we were by the encounter; and had he met us at an angle, he would have carried away our rudder braces and pintles, and marred our journey for a while.

April 7*th.* — What weather we have had! We naturally concluded that, on leaving the Sandwich Islands, all chance of foul winds would cease, and that we should have nothing to do but to roll before favourable breezes; and such were the predictions of the weather-wise at Oahu. But nature appears to have put herself out of the way, lest I should have any doubts as to the fallibility of human knowledge. From Faarava to the Sandwich Islands, on either side the equator, we had an unintermitted

continuation of winds more or less northerly; and now, being in the latitude assigned to the north-east trades, we could expect no other. Vexatious enough, we have had to contend with a succession of southerly winds with westing in them, and in fourteen days did not accomplish a fair three days' run. We have been rather more favoured the last seven days, and to-day, in latitude 18° 36′ N., and longitude 156° 40′ E., we spoke the Champion, of Edgar Town, an American whaler, bound to the inland sea of Japan.

The Japanese have hitherto enforced the most prohibitory regulations with respect to intercourse with foreigners; and so jealous have they always proved to innovations of any character, that crews of junks unhappily carried out to sea, and rescued by the ships of other nations, have not dared to return to their country. The policy of the rulers of the empire is evidently to let their weakness prove their strength; preferring occasional sacrifices of their own people to the risk of unsettling the minds, or disturbing the habits of the country generally, by the introduction of fashions or ideas borrowed from foreigners, or countries where greater liberty exists. Much has been conjectured, but little is truly known, of the interior of the kingdom; but the time seems to be approaching when we are likely to learn more about it: Captain Colt tells me, that in the last whaling season several vessels made successful voyages in the Japan Sea and Gulf of Tartary, and more than 100 ships were bound there this season. In such a fleet it is probable that incidental misfortunes will

occur; and should ill-treatment be experienced at the hands of the Japanese by the crew of any wrecked or disabled vessel, it will probably lead to belligerent inquiry or interference. "Coming events cast their shadows before." Has the dread of foreign intercourse been an ominous foreboding that the restless pale faces were one day to subjugate their kingdom? And is the evil, which they have spared no precautionary measure to avert, on the point of being brought about?

April 12th. — At sun-down, we knew we were not far from the Ladrone, or Mariana Islands; but being ignorant of the nature of the islands, and of the passages between them, we hove to till daylight.

April 13th. — In latitude 18° 30′ N. we passed between Grijan and Pagon Islands, and saw the outline of Alamaguan to the southward of the last named. The islands are small, but bold, and may be seen at a considerable distance in clear weather. They are by no means accurately laid down in Norie's chart of the Pacific (our only guide); the nearest points of Grijan and Pagon Islands are actually between thirty and forty miles asunder, and the course we steered carried us nearly in the centre of the channel, if any thing, nearer to Grijan. There are no hidden dangers, and, by knowing your latitude within a handful of miles, a vessel may venture to run in the darkest night. We were too distant to make any observations of the soil: Grijan Island appearing a barren clump-like projection, boldest at its south-eastern extremity. The other two were conically peaked.

April 29th. — At seven A. M., in latitude 20° 55′ N., sailed through the Bashee Islands. We have had to fight our way this voyage against light winds, baffling winds, and calms. We wished to pass between Orange Island and Grafton, or Monmouth Island; but the wind headed us off; and, with a light wind, we took the passage between the second and third islands north of Orange Island. It is between ten and twelve miles wide, and clear of dangers. Eight of the islands were in sight. Orange Island is long, and flat-topped; Grafton and Batan are bold and lofty; the others are small, inaccessible, rugged-looking bluffs, of the same character as the Poor Knights of New Zealand, and may be distinctly recognised at a distance of thirty or forty miles. As we approached the Bashees, they gave me the idea of a wall having connected the island of Luzon with Formosa; the passages resembling gaps, broken by time, in the connecting barrier. We experienced a strong current setting to the north-west, which caused the water to dance again, as we entered the seas of the Celestial Empire. Judging from appearances, I should not hesitate to take the first passage that presented itself; nor would I recommend the mariner reduced to run to be too easily alarmed at the appearance of breakers. The current sets with such rapidity that I can readily believe, in hard blowy weather, it would, in the comparative narrow passages, give rise to the surmise of breakers. The sea was so tranquil when we left the Pacific Ocean, that, far as the eye could range, no breakers

could be detected, excepting those upon the shore. On getting forty miles to the westward of the Bashees, the wind veered to west by south, and we could not lay better than south. We were moving through the water two or two and a half knots; but the current kept us nearly stationary.

Sad to me was the hour
When I started forth to roam,
When I left my blooming flower,
And my little bud at home.
My flower droop'd — the tear
Bedimm'd her loving eye;
Our little bud, so dear,
Lay sleeping placidly.
Sad to me, &c.

Her arms around my waist,
Like tendrils of the vine,
So lovingly embrac'd;
What parting grief was mine.
I smooth'd her raven hair,
Controll'd the rising flood,
And to her tender care
Bequeath'd our new-form'd bud.
Sad to me, &c.

Still, still I could not part,
My soul was *loth to go;*
Still yearn'd to her my *heart* —
The *rising tear would flow.*
The sorrow of *that hour*
Could ill *repress the flood,*
That saw me from my *flow'r*
Torn, and pretty little bud.
Sad to me, &c.

CHAP. X.

Opens with a Lyrical Expression of Sentiments. — Contrary Weather continues. — Speak an English Barque. — Sight Pedro Branca. — Fishing-Junks. — Boarded by a Pilot. — Reaches Hong Kong. — The Town and Port. — Observations on Conloon. — Burial-places of the Natives. — A Trip to Macao and Canton. — Tiger Island. — River Population. — Canton. — The Boat-house. — The Women. — A Glance at one of the superior Class. — Two Surmises as to why the Chinese shave their Heads. — Costume of the People. — Inferences why the Natives of Polynesian Islands may derive their Origin from the Asiatic Continent. — Religious Disposition of the Chinese. — Conversation with a Chinese Artist. — The English Jargon of the Country. — Cumsing-moon, our highest Opium-receiving Station near Canton. — Remarks on the illicit Trade. — A Fracas at Macao. — The Governor in Fault.

I CLOSED my last entry with a simple ballad portraying reminiscences of home, and I will prelude this one by a lyrical expression of feelings now present.

Though separated from thee, love,
To rove o'er boundless space,
Thine aspect's ever near me, love,
Thine image still I trace.
The hurtling blast may hurry past,
The sea in wrath may rise,
The lurid ire of lightning's fire
May flash and rend the skies;
Still thou art ever near me, love,
Thy last fond kiss is warm;
The heavens above will hear thee, love,
And shield me in the storm.

And when I tread a foreign soil,
Let other fair ones smile,
In vain for me they spread the toil,
My true love to beguile.
My plight was given before high Heaven,
Who sanctified the oath,
And to us gave a living pledge
To seal the bond on both.
Though separated from thee, love,
To rove o'er boundless space,
Thine aspect's ever near me, love,
Thine image still I trace.

May 1st. — How singularly contradictory to every thing we have heard or read of the route *to* China has this passage proved: we barely managed to get clear of the Bashees, when the wind, what there was of it, introduced itself to our teeth. Now it is a clock calm, "and not a breath disturbs the deep serene." We have drifted considerably to the northward. Yesterday the south point of the island of Formosa was in sight: its outline was high and broken, but the dim shroud of distance invested it, and to our observation it was but as a nebulary tracing in the air.

May 5th. — We have lazily flapped along, averaging two knots since my last date, and the sea has been so tranquil that a soup-plate sent adrift would have scarcely filled. Last night we saw several junks standing to the southward, and this morning we spoke the English ship Chieftain, bound to Amoy, last from Hong Kong, the port I had resolved on going to. Shortly after parting company, we fell in with a fleet of fishing-boats, and

at noon we rose Pedro Branca, which, as its name implies, is a white rock. It may be approached without danger, the water being deep in every direction. Its position has been determined, from a series of observations, to be lat. 22° 19′ 30″ N., long. 115° 7′ 45″ E.: it is a small rock, but may be seen at a distance of ten or twelve miles. On first sighting it from the eastward, it might be mistaken for a ship under full canvas, but on getting it to bear due north, it appeared rent in two. In passing the fishing-junks, I was struck with the general resemblance they bore, with their mat sails, to the canoes used by the natives of Polynesia. I have always held the belief that the islands have been peopled from the Asiatic continent; and it is equally my belief that the native races of North and South America are indebted to the same origin, for there is nothing in their appearance to indicate the Ethiopian blood.

The junks fish in pairs, extending their nets between them. We could not ascertain the sorts of "prey they were ensnaring." The waters were not at all troubled, and we could not tell by the cursory glance we had at the nets, whether the fish were taken in the meshes, or how. The main is dimly visible, hilly, broken, and mountainous.

May 6th. — Amid a cluster of islets and islands promiscuously scattered about, rugged, barren, rocky, and with not a vestige of a tree to be seen, when about twenty miles from Hong Kong, we were boarded by a man from a sampan, who produced credentials from various shipmasters, testifying to his abilities

as a pilot. After some chaffering, we gave him two pieces of salt beef, and agreed to give him thirteen dollars on his piloting us in safety to Hong Kong. The sampan, or pilot boat, then proceeded further afield, on the "look out" to distribute other pilots. We took the Ly-ee-moon passage, in one part sufficiently narrow, winding between various bluff barren isles. The harbour of Hong Kong lies to the north of the island, between it and the main, being merely an arm of the sea encompassed by islets. I believe it is the best, if not the only harbour in this part of China. But what shall I say of Hong Kong? What a place it is!—an acclivitous rock, about twenty-eight miles in circumference, and with naturally scarcely a level spot big enough to erect a dozen houses on. The waters were covered with European shipping, junks, sampans, boats, and tanka boats. Upon landing, I was positively grieved to see what British capital and enterprise had done: streets had been hewn out of the solid rock; magnificent buildings had been erected; watercourses and drains, flagged and walled up with wrought granite, conducted from the stupendous steep; and over some of them fine buildings had taken their stand. Millions of dollars, in my opinion, have been uselessly squandered, as the place can never become any thing but a receiving depôt, and a very unhealthy one. The sun strikes upon the white rock, reflecting such glare and heat, as causes, despite the admirable drains and watercourses, miasmatical evaporation, which produces congestive fever. Few dare venture abroad without an umbrella; and the foreign residents con-

fine themselves principally to their houses, which are certainly lofty and spacious enough, and provided with wide verandahs, screens, &c., to enable them to take a little exercise. Newgate, but for its name, would be a more pleasant place of residence. The Chinese quarter of Hong Kong is crowded and filthy, and the natives that occupy it are squalid and ugly. The whole race wear their heads shaved, with the exception of the crown, from which depends a tail, reaching almost to their ankles, reminding one of the chivalrous scalp lock of the Red Indians. Some huts I saw were built and thatched after the fashion of the New Zealanders. I imagine that Couloon, on the main opposite, would have been a far better site for a capital; but they tell me it is unhealthy. Can it be more so than Hong Kong? At all events, it does possess land offering capabilities for extending a city, and during the south-west monsoon, which is so pestiferous with its heat, it is open to any breezes coming from the sea; but not a breath of air can visit Hong Kong, the precipitous nature and stupendous altitude of the rock shutting out every breath. The best anchorage is on the Couloon side, and when a typhoon is dreaded, scores of sampans and tanka boats may be seen making over to it for greater security. Perhaps ships can lie a little closer to the town of Hong Kong; but if this is an advantage, is it not more than counterbalanced by the oppressive heat one is compelled to endure? But why do I talk: all I can say won't alter matters. When Hong Kong was given up to the British, a monomaniacal land, or rather building,

frenzy seized the merchants, and they contended one with the other who should offer the most extravagant ground rent to the government; and patches a hundred feet square have been leased at a yearly rental varying from 100*l.* to 400*l.* sterling. The expensive buildings erected on these allotments bind the proprietors to this enormous land tax; and I should not be surprised, if the commercial crisis lately passed had been influenced by this injudicious building outlay.

In strolling over the Couloon side, I noticed hundreds of little mounds of earth, irregularly dotted about, which I was told were the last resting-places of the common people. They have no particular places of interment, the custom being to bury their dead wherever they can purchase a piece of land for that purpose. The higher classes have been known to keep their dead for years, because they could not obtain a spot conformable to their wishes, or were waiting for a propitious day and hour to consign the dust to its final rest, — as bad as the black fellows of New South Wales. The body is finally burnt, and it is the ashes only that receive burial. Those that can afford it, enclose the ashes in a sepulchre of mason-work, of peculiar figure. The earth being dug a foot or two in depth, the bottom is flagged with stone or hard cement, and a coping of stone or cement-work is set upon it, sweeping round it like a horseshoe, the ends terminating in a sort of scroll. A small square hole, closing with a door, is left in the tomb for the reception of pious offerings to the manes. The religion of the country enjoins that the graves

should be visited periodically, and the poorer classes turn a sod upon the little mounds and sprinkle them with shavings of tissue paper.

May 9th. — Leaving the vessel, I went on board a steamer bound to Macao and Canton. Our course was through the same description of rugged islets, irregularly studding the water. The Macao roads are too open and exposed, and vessels from shoal water are compelled to anchor four or five miles from the landing-place. There are what is termed inner harbours, but they can only be taken at the top of high water, and must, I should think, be monstrously inconvenient for commercial purposes. As a place of residence, Macao is far more salubrious than Hong Kong, being open to the sea-breezes. The Praya Grande is a curving terrace of tolerably good buildings facing the sea; but, considering the number of years the Portuguese have had possession of Macao, they have been exceedingly supine or indifferent. The town is rambling and gloomy, with narrow streets, unmeaning squares, and lumbering cathedrals and convents. Had the same energetic measures exercised at Hong Kong been transferred hither, it would have been a pretty spot, though insignificantly small. The present governor of Macao appears to be a man of more action, and seems disposed to consult the health and convenience of the neighbourhood. His acts, however, do not altogether please the Chinese. In the construction of a carriage-road, certainly much needed, which winds at the base of a rocky mound, where thousands and tens of thousands of little hillocks indicate the

repose of ancestral ashes, he had to encroach on this sacred territory. The Chinese were exceedingly wroth at the violation; but the governor was resolute. "Remove your dead" was the order of the day, "and a dollar will be allowed you to pay for some other place of sepulture." It is singular the extent to which the superstitious feelings of the rich will carry them, as regards the auspicious moment for burying their dead out of their sight. Augurers and sooth-sayers are consulted, and many a tedious month may roll away before all circumstances will happily unite in conjunction to admit of the ashes reposing with certainty in peace with the blessed. In passing along the newly constructed road, my attention was drawn to the desecrated mound. It was literally streaming with fragments of paper, deposited there by those who had been recently to Chin-Chin, to perform the pious ceremony of greeting the remains of their ancestors. From Macao the steamer wended its way to Canton River. There were settlements on many of the islands we passed; but I saw no signs of the mighty population with which it is reported the Chinese Empire is inundated. We met junks and fishing-boats at every turn, but the evidence of an overwhelming land population was wanting. At the mouth of the river, called by the Portuguese the Boca Tigris, from the fancied resemblance of an island commanding the entrance to the head of a tiger, are the Bogue Forts, mounting many guns on either side the river, and very nearly on a level with the water. But they are utterly worthles as defences, as the foe might land in any number on

the easily accessible country before you approach the river, and, ascending the heights overlooking the forts, might shell out the defenders with perfect impunity. With the same want of tactics, the Chinese have planned similar forts at different stations up the river, all open to the same objection of being useless unless an invader could be found to take up designedly a convenient station for the reception of their fire. Tiger Island is an insulated mass of primitive rock, rising in a bold curve resembling the brow and mouth of a tiger. Now if the Chinese understood their business, they might here cut a fortress impregnable as Gibraltar; and if Great Britain was desirous of preserving uninterrupted commerce, either from the intrigues of other nations, or from the fickleness of the Chinese themselves, she should demand in any future outbreak the cession of this key of the river; and I'll engage, if she obtained it, she would effectually put a stop to all unfair exactions or impediments. The banks of the river are low, and at high tide subject to complete irrigation, which is favourable to the cultivation of rice. The country beyond is undulating, and crowned with many a wooded knoll. We had passing vistas of groves and shady dells, and the whole aspect of the country was richly verdant; but where were the densely crowded towns? From the number of boats and other vessels plying on the river, it strikes me that the population is more upon the water than upon the land. Whampoa is the highest reach for sailing vessels of burthen, and is about twelve miles from Canton. From this point the navigation of the

river becomes impeded: countless vessels throng the water, until, as you near the city, you thread your way through a serried mass of floating structures, from the ponderous war junk to the dancing tanka boat. The sight must be seen to be fully appreciated. It is asserted that there are 80,000 vessels of all classes clustered together, with a population not less than half a million. The sights and sounds beggar description; the astonished stranger is bewildered with amazement; and nothing filled me with greater admiration than the consummate dexterity with which every class of vessel was handled: the huge unwieldy junks, clouded with their mat sails, would shoot up into the wind, turn in half their own length, and remain stationary, as if by magic; and positively the sampans and other boats appear instinct with life, so wonderfully do they escape collision. The tanka boats are the smallest class, and are generally managed by two women, one to scull, the other to pull. They are about twelve feet long, broad beamed, and with a rounded floor. Two thirds of the vessel forward is decked over, beneath which, the family keep their stores, or, on emergency, could probably repose: the other one third is arranged for the accommodation of passengers. The whole boat is provided with tilted covers, in three or four parts rising about four feet from the gunwales, which slide to and fro, like the top of a ship's companion; so that in wet weather they can be drawn over the entire boat. The sampan is double the size of the tanka boat, and with greater pretensions to elegance and comfort. They are generally pro-

pelled by four oars, besides the aid of the sculler or helmsman. Men and women alike ply at the oar, and they are born, live, and die in their boats. The nursing of their children does not interfere with the women's laborious occupation, they place their infants on their backs, and secure them there by the aid of a square piece of cloth with bands sewn to the four corners. Tying the lower extremity round their waists, they draw the upper over their child, securing the bands to their shoulders, and in this way they pull, scull, or engage in any other work that may be necessary. To provide for the safety of children past nursing, or the age of suckling, they fasten a piece of bamboo, carefully stopped at both ends, to their backs, in knapsack fashion, so that if they chance to fall overboard, they have the prospect of floating till picked up. I am told that but few accidents occur, although the boats are swarming with infantine life. The flower boats, or boats of pleasure, somewhat resemble our Lord Mayor's barge, only they are much larger and are profusely decorated with carved work, gilding, and painting. The rowers, instead of row-locks, have loops fastened to their oars, which they pass over notched pieces of wood inserted in the gunwales, so that they can lengthen or shorten the sweep of the oar by raising or lowering the loop. The war junks and trading junks differ only in their magnitude, and the expenditure of ornamental work, carving, and painting upon them. On reaching the factories at Canton, you can scarcely see the water for the moving flotilla that covers it; and after you land, you are

equally surprised to find that in Canton so called by us, the ground is as completely excluded from the view by its mass of buildings. There are literally no streets; narrow passages—passages so narrow that a man with extended arms might touch the walls on either side—intersect the groaning mass; and on taking a bird's-eye view from one of the lofty house-tops, your gaze rests upon nothing but a confused concourse of buildings, joined together like the cells of bees. The Chinese appear fond of clustering in this way, as in other small villages I noticed on the river, and on some of the small islets, the houses were united in the same cell-like fashion, although, as far as I could judge, want of space could by no means be assigned as a cause for so crowded a style of building. Probably they are an exceedingly social and dependent race, each man being dependent on his neighbour for some of his many requirements; and thus they live in such jammed up proximity. Like the ants and bees, they are engaged in unceasing toil; the living tide of human life is perpetual in its stream through all the passages, more particularly reminding one of the ant; and their extreme dependence one upon the other, with the knowledge that in union there is strength, may have taught them to huddle together for mutual protection and support. Never did I see such varieties of food as are publicly exposed for sale: the combination of unknown quantities here collected would puzzle a mathematician. Many of the dishes had an appetising air, but my curiosity did not tempt me to try any of them.

Canton occupies about eight square miles, but

beyond this wonderfully populous spot, the country is open, stretching away in varied landscape till the fading hills are lost in distance. The residences of the English and other foreigners are confined chiefly to two small squares; and from their exceedingly limited boundaries they have been necessitated to extract sufficient room to enjoy the privilege of walking free from molestation, as they are absolutely prohibited from entering the suburbs, or penetrating the interior, for the enjoyment of free air and exercise. The enclosures they have appropriated for pedestrian movements have received the high-sounding appellations of the English and American gardens; the flag staff of the consuls of both nations being erected in the centre. Money has done what it could to make them pleasant lounges; but, after all, a prisoner in the Fleet or Queen's Bench could enjoy more exercise. He has his game of racket; but all that the prisoners at Canton can do in the pedestrian way is to cross and recross one another in the small but costly patches misnamed gardens. The only other exercise they can participate in is boating; and the necessity that has induced it has created as pretty an assemblage of sailing boats, pulling boats, wherries, gigs, and funnies, as is probably to be met with any where. The boat-house is one of the sights of Canton. I went for one or two short excursions up the river; and it was grievous to look back at the humming hive I had just quitted, and turn to the glorious country where scarcely a man or

his habitation was to be seen far as the eye could reach — the whole prospect, redolent with the beauties of nature — and to know that the prejudices of these long-tailed Celestials had denied us the privilege of delighting in them. They are a human illustration of the "dog in the manger —" they either can't or won't enjoy the fine scenery about Canton themselves, neither will they allow us, who can appreciate it, to do so. I saw but two or three of the better class of females, as not only the jealous care of their guardians, but their own infirmities preclude their going abroad. The painful confinement their feet are subjected to when infants forbids the possibility of walking without assistance, and the Chinese have learnt to admire their feeble tottering gait. To my eye it was particularly disgusting, and reminded me of Peter Pindar's description of the Friar "hobbling along" with peas in his shoes. The women's feet are about the size and shape of a goat's hoof, and their ankles bulge above them like a diseased joint above a horse's pastern. It was in an excursion on the river that I chanced to meet a really beautiful girl, as far as face was concerned, in one of their covered pleasure boats, but open at the sides. Our vessels glided slowly past each other, and I had a fair opportunity for scanning the beauty. A rich carmine suffused her checks, like the blush of a rose leaf; her skin, albeit partaking of the olive tint, was refreshingly clear; her hair, which was exceedingly luxuriant, and dark as polished ebony, was dressed in a peculiar but tasteful style; and, in the glance of supreme

indifference which she carelessly cast upon the passing foreigners, she might have vied with some of our own regal and surpassing lovely dames, when they chance to unveil their beauties to the crowd. Her features were exquisitely moulded; and her eyes, slightly partaking of the obliquitous curve characteristic of the Tartar race, were surmounted by arched brows beautifully defined. The haughty glance with which she favoured us barbarians did not detract from the merit of her charms, and I felt — "tell it not in *Tahiti*" — an impulsive desire to appease her prejudices by pressing my lips to hers, in a kiss of fraternal love — the "kiss of peace." There is no great difference in the costume of the men and women; the chief distinction is, that the women wear their beautiful tresses at pleasure, whereas the men, by an imperial edict, are compelled to keep their heads shorn, with the exception of a small patch upon the crown, from which they cultivate tails, worn as a badge of submission they say; but I should rather think it was a stroke of policy, to find employment for an immense number of hands. "Idleness is the root of all evil," says an English proverb: the Chinese rulers may imagine this, as well as we; and not wishing to have Lazzaroni, like drones, to feed upon the commonwealth, and avail themselves of any chance to incite disturbances, may have devised head-shaving as one method of perpetuating employment. They may have another motive, as the long tails form an excellent means

of securing criminals. I was mightily tickled the other day at meeting a party of pirates marching to confinement all tied together by the tails. The general dress of the lower orders, man and woman, is a loose sort of shirt, falling down to the knees, and very wide trowsers or drawers, which, owing to their peculiar cut, bag behind in unseemly fashion. The shirts are without collars, and button on one side the neck, which is left bare; the shirt opens down the side, and is secured by loops and buttons. A broad-brimmed hat, rising to a conical peak in the centre, with a circumference partaking more of the character of an umbrella, shields them from the wet and sun; and thick-soled shoes, of many layers of felt stitched together, complete their costume. It is the custom for every European arriving in China to engage a native attendant, or "boy." These flunkies imitate the better classes; they never wear the broad-brimmed hat, but carry a fan or umbrella to shield themselves from the sun: and when they are dressed for the day, they pull over the wide-legged drawers stockings made of stout nankeen, or some such material, reaching to the knee, and fastened just below it by a white or fancy-coloured ribbon. The soles of these stockings are wadded, and the stocking itself is so stiff, that it will almost stand like a Wellington boot. From their want of elasticity, they impart a most ungainly appearance to the legs, which rise like misshapen pillars from the shoes. The latter are generally of satin or velvet, the soles being thicker at the

ball of the foot, than at the heel. The whole garb is calculated to impress one with the idea of a deliberate-moving race, for it positively precludes any great exhibition of activity. But with the coolies, or common labourers, who go more frequently without shoes than with them, there is no lack of strength or activity. They carry burdens the same way as the natives of Polynesia, slung at each end of poles; and I have seen them carrying ponderous weights. In colour and symmetrical roundness of limb, many of the coolies exactly resemble the Polynesian races; and they have a game which I only saw elsewhere practised amongst the natives of the Paumutu Islands. One party challenges another, and throws out his fingers, from one to ten, calling out the number as he proceeds rapidly to exhibit the fingers indicated, in prescribed order. If the challenged party fails to throw out the proper number of fingers in due form, he is fined and compelled to drink; but with the Paumutians, as they have nothing but water as a beverage, they forfeit some trifle to each other. I am more than ever persuaded that the islanders of Polynesia may claim their origin from the Asiatic continent. On one occasion, as two girls in a tanka boat were pulling me ashore, somewhat vexing me, I gave vent to ejaculations in the Kanaka language, and called one of them "mate po" (blind-eye). Both of them appeared to understand me, for they burst into laughter, and the one who had the blind eye turned it from me; and ever after, when I chanced to meet her, she would laugh, and keep her blind

side from me. I tried to engage them in conversation; but though they might have understood a few words, I only elicited a series of shouts and giggles.

The Chinese, from my observation, are a strictly religious race: their houses and their boats are freely decorated with passages from their sacred writings; even the humblest tanka boat will carry a joss-house, or house of prayer, in which they burn incense to the deity; and it is common to witness the people of a boat, when about to take their departure for some distant port, casting lighted paper on the water, or letting off fire-works, by way of "chin-chining," or propitiating the good spirit.

I sat to a native artist at Canton, named Lamqua, that he might take my likeness, and during the sittings, discoursed with him about the religion of his country. He remarked that the English were very bigoted; that we came to their country, not as if we were men, but as if we were gods. We laughed at and contemned all their institutions, and told them that ours was the only true religion, and that unless they did as we directed, they would all go "below."

"Wouldn't you be justified in thinking we were fools, if we sent missionaries to your country and talked to you in the same way? Must every one be a fool because he does not think as the English do?"

"What is your creed of the existence of the world?" inquired I.

"Oh!" he replied, "our fashion talk is, that the

world has been countless of ages in existence: it requires so many thousands of years to acquire such a form; and so many to acquire such another form; and so fashion:" their notion of the creation coinciding with the deductions arrived at by modern geologists.

Lamqua had got three wives; and though he approved of our monogamous system, and of the respectful treatment we evince towards our wives, he could not understand how one wife could manage our affairs during our absence. I told him "we did not expect them to manage our affairs, we married them for the sake of their society, and for the pleasure of endeavouring, by our exertions, to make them happy, and not with the idea of rendering them servants or slaves."

"That's very proper," he rejoined, "you treat your wives as if they were angels; but so is not the fashion of my country, a man may have as many wives as he chooses to buy. But this was the difference: his first wife was selected by his parents, and was a family arrangement, and as such he was bound to support her, nor could he sell her or put her away; but any subsequent wives, obtained by purchase, he could resell at pleasure, the same as any other marketable produce."

"But that's very cruel; suppose any of them proved mothers?"

To all objectional remarks, however, Lamqua only shrugged his shoulders, and replied, "It is the fashion of my country."

He has two children, and I asked him if he sub-

jected his daughter to the cruel punishment of confining her feet?

"For the first three or four months," he said "he had submitted to the custom of the country, but he could not bear to see the affliction of his child, and he was convinced of the absurdity of the practice."

But he was no great admirer of the English ladies' feet, or of their manner of walking: he contended "that it was too coarse; they walk too strong, all the same as a man; they want that graceful tremulous movement of our ladies."

I tried hard to induce him to take me with him into the country, and introduce me to his family; but he assured me it was impossible; I should be stoned to death by the common people: the well-ordered part of the community would never molest me, but there was no protecting me against the rabble. I made similar requests to other Chinamen, and received the same answer.

It is astonishing what numbers of Chinese speak a peculiar kind of English jargon; and it is necessary for all foreigners doing business with them to obtain a knowledge of it. To an Englishman visiting China for the first time, it is exceedingly ludicrous to hear his countrymen and others jabbering away in the vernacular of his country, singularly transmogrified and broken, as freely as if it had been the style they had been accustomed to from infancy.

Hong Kong is on the east of the entrance to Canton River. Macao is a small peninsula on the opposite side, but farther to the southward, and

seventeen or eighteen miles to the northward of Macao, there is an inlet on the coast, sheltered by a small islet, and the bay thus formed is called Cumsingmoon. This is the highest opium-receiving station we have near Canton. Here receiving ships lie moored; and from this point, by aid or connivance of the mandarins, the opium is smuggled into the country. The principal opium introduced into China comes from Bengal and Bombay. That from Bengal is a *government monopoly*, and public sales take place once a month to the highest bidders. It is brought across by steamers and vessels, yclept, *par excellence*, "opium clippers;" and it is worthy of note, that England equipped her fleets, lavished her treasure, and poured out the blood of the Chinese like water, because their *government* endeavoured, with the strong hand, to put down the illicit commerce.

The fewness of the foreign residents in China is absolutely startling, and nothing but the fearful superiority of their weapons of destruction, and the utter ignorance of the Chinese as to all warlike operations, could prevent their being annihilated. The poor Chinese are justified in excluding us as much as they can from the interior. The paucity of our number is so glaring that you are lost in admiration at our late proceedings; and feelings of the deepest sympathy are involuntarily excited towards the countless race of industrious, but non-combating Chinese.

Old residents tell me I am mistaken in supposing the banks of the river to be thinly peopled; that were

I to go two or three miles inland, I would find villages like bee-hives, and as densely crowded with denizens.

Already the Chinese are forgetting the frightful lesson that was written in their blood; and from the folly and vexatious nature of their measures, will probably bring down further chastisement. If, unhappily, such should result, I would advise our ministers to insist upon getting possession of Tiger Island: for the commerce of China could then be protected *against the folly of her own people, or the designs of any other.*

June 8th. — A sailing regatta came off at Macao to-day, and having been present, I make this entry, to notice a singular fracas that took place.

Three or four English, and two American men-of-war, were lying in the roads; and as I was standing on the lower fort watching the race, several boats were seen pulling ashore from the English men-of-war, having armed marines in them. My attention was directed to this hostile appearance, and I pronounced it to be the band coming ashore with their musical instruments.

"Devilish queer musical instruments!" was the rejoinder; "they are muskets."

A spy-glass was handed to me, and then I saw they were muskets.

"Well," said I, "I suppose it is a guard of honour landing out of compliment to the governor;" and I thought no more about it.

In about five minutes' time the boats were seen leaving; and a Portuguese soldier commenced gesticulating with great vehemence. We could not un-

derstand him; but his excitement became so intense, that his long mustachios and beard curled and twisted as he laboured to express his indignation. Soldiers were seen gathering on the Praya Grand, and the militia were hastening to the scene, belting on swords, and buckling on cartouch boxes. Wondering what it could all mean, I also hurried down. It wasn't long in transpiring. The governor, on the day previous, had caused the arrest of an English clergyman, because he did not take off his hat on the passing of some popish ceremony (the hoisting of the host I believe); and he was kept in "durance vile" the whole of the night. Captain Keppel, of H. M. S. Meander, was informed of this; and he also learnt that the imprisoned gentleman had only just landed for the first time at Macao, and that he was in ignorance of the Portuguese language, and the customs of Catholic countries: but that immediately on his ascertaining the cause of his imprisonment, he had written to the governor apprising him of these circumstances, regretting the error into which his ignorance had betrayed him, and giving his assurances that no complaints of a similar nature should ever again be preferred against him. One would have supposed that an apology and explanation so ample would have sufficed for his immediate liberation; unfortunately, it did not prove so.

Early this morning, Captain Keppel waited upon the governor, and demanded the release of the reverend gentleman; at the same time expressing his unmitigated surprise that any governor of a civilised

territory, in the nineteenth century, could be found to subject to duresse and ill-treatment those who did not pay observance to passing religious pageants. The governor appeared to forget that he was not addressing timorous Chinese, whose religious tenets and graves he could violate with impunity—not from any dread they had of him, *but of the English allies*—and replied, that the person was in the hands of the civil authorities; but as a matter of courtesy, if Captain Keppel requested it, he would cause him to be set at liberty.

Captain Keppel would consent to no such invidious measure, and demanded his freedom as a right. "Then he must take his chance with the civil authorities." Further argument was thrown away, and Captain Keppel left the governor's presence, with the determination to liberate the clergyman by force. Before, however, resorting to any violent means, he addressed the governor formally in writing, demanding the reverend gentleman's release. No notice being taken of the letter, a party of marines was landed, who dashed straight to the place where the prisoner was confined, and liberated him in a twinkling. The officer in charge of the party, seeing some guns in the rear which could be turned upon them in their retreat, sent some hands to guard them. The soldier on duty unhappily presented his musket to deter them, and was instantly shot dead. I say unhappily, because the poor devil's musket was not loaded, and but for his loyal empty display, no mortal casualty would have occurred. The whole affair did not occupy ten minutes, from the landing

of the marines till the boats were on their way again to their various vessels, with the liberated prisoner in company. Some of the boats quietly proceeded to the station where they were to take part in a pulling race shortly to ensue. The consternation was great: all children were ordered off the terrace, the guns were ordered to be loaded, and free vent was given to execrations on the cowardly unmanly conduct of Captain Keppel, who could thus take such an undue advantage of the governor's absence. So perfectly secure felt the governor, that nothing would be attempted on the part of Captain Keppel, that he had taken no precautionary measures of prevention; but shortly after the withdrawal of Captain Keppel, he himself entered his barge, and went on board one of the American vessels: nor do I believe he received the written protest and demand until the prisoner was set at liberty. Captain Keppel did not consider it necessary to make the governor privy to his determination, as the governor, being more valorous than precautious, might have opposed resistance, and occasioned much bloodshed, which was no part of Captain Keppel's desire; but liberate the man at all hazards, *he would,* and teach the governor "that what is sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander." The governor, like Dogberry, may "write himself down an ass:" perhaps for the future he will be able to distinguish between a *power* that could crush him, and a people that were humbled at the feet of *that power.* Much vapouring and gasconade followed his return to the shore, but nothing was done; "great cry and little wool." I was going to Whampoa the next

morning, to join a vessel bound for Manilla, as I wished to visit that place; but I told my "boy," "that if there was any chance of a row, I should stop where I was."

"O, no fear, sir, Portygee man, too much, all the same China man, no savee make fight."

He was quite correct, and the next morning I joined the steamer.

June 15th.—My trip to Whampoa was time thrown away, in a measure, as the vessel had to touch at Macao, and it was not until this date that we made a clear start for Manilla. The effervescence at Macao had only partially subsided. The governor, in order to exhibit the strongest sense of his indignation, issued notices, "inviting people to attend the funeral of the soldier so foully assassinated by order of Captain Keppel." I don't know how the public spirit responded to this brave display; but if it in any way tended to relieve the overflowing choler of the excited governor, it may have saved him from a fit of the jaundice; and the nostrum was as simple as harmless.

CHAP. XI.

Visit Manilla.—The Bay.—Beasts of Burthen.—Costume.—Inferiority of the Indian Race to the Natives of Islands south of the Equator.—Country around Manilla.—A Trip to the Village Mariquina.—Fire-flies.—Fear of Banditti.—Exports from Manilla.—The great Cigar Manufactory.—Pina.—A Bolster Wife.—Return to China.—The Chinese want only Leaders and Training to be excellent Soldiers.—British Occupation of Tiger Island in case of further Disturbances with China.—Pirates; their Method of Attack.—Not altogether judicious to stray far from the Factories at Canton.—Frogs used as Food.—Long Finger-nails.—Artists.—Taste for Monstrosities.—Force of Training over Instinct.—Specimen of Chinese English.—The Compredore.

WITH my usual luck, we were attended with light baffling winds. Manilla is only an ordinary five days' run from Macao, but we were twelve in accomplishing it, and it was June 27th before we entered its expansive bay. Ever since my arrival in the East we have had a constant succession of light winds. I was led to believe that in this month we were sure of rough tempestuous weather. The north-east monsoon changes to the south-west at the end of April or beginning of May; I was warned against entering the China seas at the time of change. Whatever may have been the experience

of years gone by, the months of August, September, and October are now those that are the most dreaded. Last year, in these months, fearful havoc was committed amongst the shipping by the visitation of hurricanes or typhoons; and. I was told that the loss of life sustained by the Chinese was awful. I can readily give credence to the report. They say that Canton River swarmed with bodies of the unfortunate drowned.

My chief object in visiting the Philippine Islands is, to ascertain what market they offer for the South Sea Islands. The Chinese are so wedded to their own customs, that it is next to an impossibility to introduce any novelty amongst them: gray calicoes, white shirtings, camlets, rica, rattans, betel-nut, and pepper, seem to be the chief legitimate articles of import for the Chinese mart. Rice is admitted duty free, and rules at from 1$25 to 2$25 per pecul. Biche de mer, though only consumed in China, is better understood in Manilla; parties there know better how to sort it for the various provinces, and I find, when too late, that I had better have made the paradoxical voyage, than proceeded direct to the ports of consumption.

The bay of Manilla is on the south-south-west side of the island Luzon, or Luconia. The coast is bold, and may be seen at a distance of twenty leagues. The entrance to the harbour is about eleven miles in width, and is unequally divided by Isle Corregidor; the passage on the north-west side being about two miles in width, that on the south-east about eight. The formation of the bay

resembles that of a shot-flask, the neck of the flask answering for the entrance; it is about thirty miles in diameter in its broadest part, and the city of Manilla is on its eastern side. A river which disembogues itself into the bay, and up which ships of burthen may be taken at high water, divides the city proper from the suburbs. From the great extent of the bay, a heavy sea hurls its thunder on the beach during the prevalence of the south-west monsoon, but in the north-east, the wind being from the land, it sleeps as "tranquil as an unweaned child." A shoal, called St. Nicholas, with less than three fathoms water upon it, lies on the south-east side of the bay; and the boarding officer gave us the information that the government had stationed a buoy upon it, with a warning bell attached.

"How's that?" said the captain; "we saw and heard nothing of it, although we were within hearing distance."

"No," he replied; "because it had been washed away in a heavy gale some year or two ago, and had not been since replaced."

"You're a smart set of fellows!" thought I.

The river is confined within certain limits by piers of massive masonry, and the city is strongly fortified, but it is a gloomy, kill-joy looking place. There is a fine esplanade within the city walls, where it is customary for the fashionables to take their evening drives; but so jealous are the authorities, that no foreigners are allowed to remain within the city after a certain hour at night.

The first thing that struck my attention, after walking ashore in the morning (we landed late in the evening) was the extraordinary animals employed generally as beasts of burthen — a sort of demi-amphibious buffalo, all of one uniform pale inky colour, and with hides that are nearly hairless. They are slow-moving ponderous brutes, with large solid horns, exceedingly powerful, but cannot exist long without a wallow in the mire. The cartilage of their nostrils is pierced, and a rope, knotted at one extremity, is passed through — and this is the torturing guiding and controlling rein if they happen to prove obstreperous.

I was also struck with the costume of the Indians and mestizos, or half-castes. The women wear a roll of cloth swathed tightly round their bodies from their waists, called by them "tappis;" it falls to the ankle. The gay colours of the encircling roll display their fondness for show, and prevent your supposing them mummies in their cerements taking a cruize. Meeting the tappis, there is a close-fitting jacket of some light material, and round the neck they will occasionally throw a kerchief, that might vie with the tulip in brilliancy and contrast of colour; or they will sport a handsomely worked collar or mantilla. They wear their long black hair brushed backward from the forehead, and the ends are collected and fastened in a knot or roll at the top of the head. Their naked feet are thrust into tiny slippers, which just admit four toes, the little toe remaining outside as a sort of hold-fast. I cannot say much for their beauty:

some of the Mestizo girls were passable, and I believe they are generally pretty till they attain the age of twenty, or get married, after which period they grow coarse, and spread into the most unmerciful figures. Waists they have none, but their forms appear to shoot out, fan-like, from their arm-pits broad and flat. The Indians are a high-boned, hollow-cheeked, cadaverous, ugly-looking race; but the men, both Indians and half-castes, are great dandies in their way. Their trowsers are generally of some gaudy striped print or gingham; and outside they wear their shirts, made of pina (a light and costly fabric manufactured from the fibre of the pine-apple leaf), elaborately wrought by the hand or in the loom, with figures and stripes. Sometimes the stripes are of satin thread; bright orange, scarlet, crimson, and blue, being the favourite colours. Confound the exposed fashion they have of wearing their shirts, say I, for mine, on being returned from the washerwoman's, had their tails so stiffly starched, they could have stood of themselves, and I had great ado in tucking them out of sight. A high-crowned straw hat completes their garb. But the picture would not be perfect unless a game cock was placed under one of their arms. Their gambling passion for the cock-pit almost exceeds credence; there is scarcely an Indian without his bird: and the maddening excitement which carries them away oftentimes strips them of every thing they possess in the world, even to the very clothes upon their backs. There are but few creole Spaniards, or those of pure Castilian blood, compared

with the Indian and mixed races. In trips of six or seven miles in various directions that I made around Manilla, the village might be called strictly Indian, as there is nothing to dispel the illusion but a cathedral or monastic building, and a solitary stone or brick house or two. The houses of the Indians are framed like those of the Sandwich Islanders; but the sides and roof are covered in with the leaves of the pandanus instead of grass. They are built in rows on either side the roads, and are all raised on blocks three or four feet from the ground. They are neither built nor kept so neat and cleanly as the houses of the Polynesian Islanders I am acquainted with south of the equator; nor can the natives of the Philippine Isles, as a race, bear any comparison in a physical point of view with the islanders alluded to.

The country around Manilla, extending fourteen or fifteen miles from the beach, is almost a dead level, low, and swampy; and I am told, that to a greater or less extent this *is* the character of the country immediately girding the bay. Undulating land then commences, till it swells into mountainous elevations, rising five and six thousand feet high. The heat of the climate at this season is intense; it is almost impossible to walk abroad during the day, and every one that can afford it sports his vehicle and pair; and perhaps for so small a community, it cannot be surpassed on the globe for its exhibition of carriages. Merchants and others engaged in commerce, if they only want to proceed a distance of 300 or 400 yards, trundle out in their vehicles;

and it is no unnecessary precaution, as you may see the heat steaming from the river and paddy fields. If there is no good without its attendant evil, so likewise is there no evil without its attendant good: the marshy grounds which generate miasmata so baleful to European constitutions, also yield superlative crops of rice, which forms the food of thousands.

The country is intersected in every direction with beautifully embowered lanes, raised above the level of the paddy fields. The graceful bamboo, which here attains an exuberant growth, is one of the most picturesque and elegant objects in the landscape. The great variety of other foliage, with the glowing fruits and flowers, and the refreshing greenness of the paddy fields, render an excursion in carriage or on horseback exceedingly delightful after the torrid heats of the day; yet were you to deviate any distance from the pathways and roads, you would probably plump up to the middle in mud and water. I was much pleased with a trip to Mariquina, a suburban village about nine miles from Manilla. It is a pretty retreat, within an easy distance from the city; and it is customary for the foreign residents whose circumstances will admit of it, to engage, during the fine weather season, the houses here owned by the creole masters of the country, who at this period scarcely dare venture to dwell so far from the capital, for fear of banditti. During the rainy season the roads are nearly impassable; and two or three years back, the whole district of Mariquina was under water, from waist to breast deep,

which may account for the Indian custom of elevating their houses on blocks. That it protects their stores from rats is also another reason assigned. We strolled about the village, and as evening closed in, for the first time I beheld that extraordinarily luminous insect, the fire-fly, emitting sparks of light more brilliant than the scintillating rays of the brightest diamond. On the darkness increasing, I shook the boll of a tree and brought down a shower of fire, more intensely vivid than sparks from a furnace. In daylight and repose the insect is about the size, and of the dull colour of the weevil. I caught some of the little creatures in my hand, but it did not cause them to cease emitting their luminous halo.

A family of interesting mestizo girls lived within a few yards of my kind entertainer's abode, and we amused ourselves till past eleven P. M. listening to their singing. They were exempt from the horrid habit of chewing the betel-nut, the common practice of the natives of the country, which deepens the lips into a brown red, and the teeth into a brown black, causing the mouth to resemble a decayed sepulchre. Scarcely had we retired for the night, when the whole family, girls, mother and all, came rushing to our house for refuge. A party of nine or ten banditti had entered the village; and as the family had been plundered by a similar party only a few months previously, they clung to us for protection. There were five of us English present; and as we had pistols and creeses at hand, we loaded the former and prepared for battle. A room was devoted to the ladies; and having made our dispositions in case of an attack, we again turned

in. It is probable that the rogues became conscious of our presence (as it was whispered that one of the servants of the establishment maintained secret correspondence with the mountain banditti), and taking the alarm, made off, leaving us to enjoy the night in quietude. Few of the Spaniards will venture to travel unattended in this direction, and their houses were being leased by foreigners at ridiculously low rates. What has become of the gallantry and daring of the once most enterprising nation of the world? Luconia is not a newly conquered province; and yet, within two hours' walk of the strongly fortified capital, the villagers cannot defend themselves from the wanton outrage of a handful of armed ruffians, nor can the government extend to them security and protection. From the numerical superiority of the Indian and half-caste races, the utmost precautions are taken that they do not become possessed of fire-arms or offensive weapons; hence a few armed ruffians may at any time enter a village and sack it with impunity.

The principal exports from Manilla are sugar, tobacco, hemp, coffee, rice, cigars, cocoa-nut oil, and indigo; but, strange to say, there is no cultivation on a scientific or extensive scale. Produce is brought to market by driblets, in a slovenly manner, and varying in quantity from 10 to 100 peculs; each petty cultivator of a small patch consigning his produce to Manilla in one of the provincial boats, when it is bought up by the exporting merchants. It is reported that the Philippine Islands are wonderfully fertile; but their resources remain nearly unde-

veloped. By her narrow selfish policy, old Spain lost her magnificent colonies in South America, and it is a wonder that this, almost the only abiding of her colonial possessions, has not thrown off her yoke; but I apprehend the climate is too enervating to produce amongst the creoles men of sufficient energy to plan and carry out a revolution.

I am told that the white Manilla hemp is obtained from the macerated fibres of the stalk of a fruitless plantain, peculiar only to certain districts in the island of Luconia. My informant had never seen the plant, nor witnessed the mode of preparation; but from the large quantities both of hemp and cordage that yearly meet with exportation, it must be of an exceedingly abundant growth.

Sugar prepared in the rudest form is brought to market in earthen jars, containing from a pecul to a pecul and a half each. The buyers turn the moist mass into other jars, resembling inverted bee-hives, with holes through their bottoms, to drain off the molasses. The mass is then clayed over with an unctuous blue sort of marl, which causes the molasses to precipitate more quickly; and the value of the sugar is according to the number of times it has been submitted to this claying process. Finally, the sugar is spread out on mats in the sun for one day, and it is then ready for exportation.

The manufacture of tobacco is exclusively a government monopoly; and they have an establishment for the manufacture of cigars in which between 8000 and 9000 women are employed. My wonder was excited as to how it was possible to control such

an immense number of females; but it ceased on my obtaining permission to visit the establishment. There are six rooms, and from 1200 to 1500 women in each, all squatted on the ground, with little benches before them to aid them in their operations. The din and noise is deafening; some are picking and sorting the tobacco, others hammering out the leaves with round stones and pasting them together, for which purpose they have the shell of a cocoa-nut, with a little paste in it, close at hand. The cigar-maker having selected a leaf from the heap before her, and added to it or taken from it as the case may require, takes a half turn with the edge, and crumpling into it some of the tobacco shreds, with a dexterous roll of the hand the cigar is made, and secured by a little paste. It is thrown into her lap, and she proceeds with the manufacture of another. Subsequently the cigars are clipped at both ends to the size required, by a little wooden measure, the clippings serving to fill the bodies of other cigars. At intervals may be seen huge portly dames, whose duty it is to keep a vigilant eye that none are slack in the performance of their work. These overseers appear to have been selected for their ponderosity of person, and masculine sternness of expression: their weight alone would crush any half-dozen of the operatives. The severe glances of these dames, and the incessant din created by the unceasing hammering, precludes all chance of any indulgence in that loquacity, justly or unjustly, ascribed as an attribute natural to the fair sex, so that there is no chance of plotting or caballing. To be heard, it would be

necessary to have the lungs of a Stentor, and private conversation is out of the question. In ante-rooms, adjoining the main ones, where the manufacturing is going on, other females are employed putting up the cigars in bundles of ten each, and packing them on their ends in circular pyramids, that a current of air may pass through and effect a partial drying, before they are finally stowed away in boxes for sale. Such an assemblage of women it was never my lot to behold before; and they have the reputation of being the unloveliest assortment of unfeathered bipeds that ever eye reposed on. Sales of the cigars are effected monthly, at established prices; and if the supply is unequal to the demand, they are allotted in proportion to the requisitions made.

Cocoa-nut oil is also brought to market in earthen jars, which contain from ten to twelve gallons each. There is no large establishment for its manufacture, and that produced is from the manual labour of individuals, who bring or send from ten to twenty jars to market at a time. The way it is prepared differs little from the process used by the South Sea Islanders.

The rice of the Philippine Islands appeared to me dark and coarse-grained; but owing to the high price this grain has maintained in China this year, large quantities of it have been exported.

Of indigo I cannot speak from personal observation; a severe fit of illness, which was nearly carrying me off, having curtailed the short time allowed me for inspection and inquiry. All the information I obtained respecting it, was in a note from a friend,

who writes, — "Indigo is produced in considerable quantities. Its quality is inferior to that of Bengal, and it is very carelessly prepared and packed, the same case frequently containing several different qualities."

Besides the above enumerated articles of commerce, straw hats of various quality and material are largely exported. I have alluded to the fabric called pina, made from the fibres of the pine-apple leaf. My illness prevented an intended visit to an establishment where it was manufactured, but I was taken to see the embroiderers at work upon it. The finer qualities excel in transparent delicacy of thread the finest cambric I ever saw, but I cannot say I was favourably impressed with it, owing to its dingy colour; it resembles that of faded calico, or else it is of a murky bluish tint; but I was assured that by exposure to the sun, it becomes of snowy whiteness. It is exceedingly costly, and probably from that reason does not find much favour as an article of export, being looked upon more as an article of curiosity than an object of utility. Designs drawn upon paper are placed beneath the pina intended for embroidering, and the outlines are traced upon it with pencil. It is then stretched out about a foot from the floor, and parallel to it, the workmen and women (for both sexes are employed) sit all round, with their legs bent under them, as closely as they can ply the needle; and as I witnessed the slow laborious process, I was not astonished that a fully embroidered handkerchief, twenty-four inches square, should cost forty dollars. The artificers are kept at

work from seven o'clock in the morning till five o'clock in the evening, and are only allowed thirty minutes out of the ten hours for relaxation and refreshment. Both sides of the handkerchief, or whatever the article may be, are embroidered alike, and the workmanship is exquisite; so much so, that some of the scarfs, &c., submitted to my admiring notice, appeared like transparent tablatures, with figures in relief of beautifully sculptured alabaster.

In Manilla, as in China, the heat of the climate induces very indolent habits; and, on a fresh arrival, it is quite ludicrous to see the number of servants in an establishment. At meal-times a circulation of air is kept up by the movement of a punkha suspended overhead. The punkha is a framework, from twelve to fourteen feet long, by six or seven in depth, covered with calico, and having at the lower extremity a deep valance, like that surrounding the lower sides of a bedstead. A pully leads from the punkha to the hall, or servants' room, and at a signal it is worked to and fro, when the waving flounce sets a cool current of air in motion. Gentlemen as well as ladies resort to fans, and no one thinks of stirring abroad without an umbrella.

I was at a loss to comprehend the meaning of one of the customs in Manilla; and I dare say any one chancing to read this, and unacquainted with the practice, will be equally at fault. A nicely dressed bolster, all flounced and furbelowed, is put to bed with you. Why it was stowed between my sheets I could not imagine: it can't be out of compliment,

because I am a married man, and accustomed to sleep double; but what the deuce is it for? The oppressive heat of the night soon showed me its use. Almost every one wears pigamas, or loose sleeping-trowsers; and by throwing the leg over this hard bolster you obtain a degree of coolness, as the clothes are prevented sweltering upon you. I was not a little amused with the coquettish appearance of my bolster wife the first time I had the honour of making her acquaintance. I suppose that it is a habit introduced by the Spaniards, for the señoritas are extremely fond of ornament, and display great taste in decorating their beds.

July 15th. — Being sufficiently convalescent to venture abroad, I this day bade adieu to my kind and generous host, and took passage on board a barque bound to Hong Kong. We did not get under weigh till the morning of July 16th, and it was the day following that we cleared the bay and obtained an offing; but instead of being favoured with the wind on which we depended in the heart of the south-west monsoon, we had nothing but light variable winds from the eastward, northerly; and I was again led to the reflection, that my experience went to disprove all statements and theories about the winds.

July 24th. — Arrived at Hong Kong in time to save the mail for England.

I have been now so many years from my native land, that in my nocturnal rambles in China it was with mingled feelings of surprise and admiration that I noticed her industrious citizens working

with untiring assiduity far into the hours of the night, forgetful of the claims my own countrymen had to a portion of this admiration. In our estimation, the Chinese labour cheaply; a good artizan not receiving more than from fifteen to twenty pence of our money per day. A dollar is equivalent to 1200 cash; and for 100 cash per day, equal to fourpence of our money, a labouring man may fare and lodge well. It is superfluous to repeat that the Chinese are ignorant of European tactics, and are not a warlike people; but their coolies, or day-labourers, are a stalwart well-built race, clean-limbed, stout, and muscular, capable of continued exertion in supporting and conveying immense burthens; and apart from their physical capabilities, I have been assured by long residents in the country, that they evince a supreme indifference to self-existence, and that every one of them, for the sake of a hundred dollars to bequeath to his family, would willingly resign himself to execution; firmly believing that his soul would only be transferred to another state of being, where he would enjoy a happier state of existence. If this is not the right material to place upon the battle-field I don't know where it is to be found. They only require leaders and experience; and with the pertinacity of Duguld Dalgetty, who contended for the erection of a sconce on Drumsnab, I insist, that if we wish to preserve uninterrupted commerce in China, we ought to take possession of Tiger Island, provide it with a garrison, and keep it stored with provisions for twelve months; and then it would always be within

the walls, the "wooden walls" of Old England. I was somewhat surprised to see some of our own warriors, officers both in the army and navy, lolling at their length in sedan-chairs, and supported from place to place on the naked shoulders of the brawny "raw material" to which I have made allusion. I always thought that *the most* important part of an officer's duty was to habituate himself to any clime, that he might never be found wanting in the hour of need; and I was not a little scandalised at observing such effeminacy. Imagine a troop of men being carried to the field of battle in sedan-chairs!

Although the Chinese are not a fighting nation, yet their coasts are lined with piratical junks innumerable, always on the look-out to pick up the defenceless and unwary. Several instances of piracy occurred whilst we were lying in the harbour. Like brother Jonathan, they calculate chances, and I believe are never known to make an attack if they are likely to meet with a stout resistance; shrewdly concluding that dead men can profit nothing; and, to lessen the chances of such a casualty as death, they throw into the vessels they are about to board fulminating balls or shells, which on explosion emit such a suffocating stench and smoke, that the party attacked can scarcely see or respire, and, incapable of offering resistance, fall an easy prey to the overwhelming numbers that precipitate themselves upon the deck. Nothing but hard knocks would be gained by attacking an equal force, and they prefer putting risk out of the question. They

are exceedingly cruel in these onslaughts, generally butchering, in cold blood, all their captives; upon the principle, I presume, "that dead men tell no tales." I was present at the trial of some pirates that had been taken, and I saw about twenty other couples in an outer room, awaiting their trials. They were linked together by the ankles, and were handcuffed, but I never saw faces evincing greater freedom from anxiety or care. The fellows in the outer room were laughing and talking with as much jollity, as though no rope was dangling over their heads, waiting to stretch their necks; they were bandying jokes with their gaolers (lascars), who were jesting in the same vein.

In my last visit to Canton, I went to the city gates, and traversed in various directions the narrow passages intersecting the conglomerated mass of building. I had a Chinese conductor with me; but I found that the further I strayed from the foreign factories, the more open I became to insult, and the risk of being plundered. I felt many a covert punch bestowed upon me, as I pushed my way through the crowded thoroughfares; and now and then, I would get saluted with the title of Fanquai *, uttered in tones of strong contempt. My guide took me to see several manufactories; but as soon as we entered the buildings, the doors were surrounded by the rabble, gaping to see the fanquai; and I detected another object they had in view, not

* Fanquai admits of two significations. In one sense it merely implies a foreigner; but in another, and if uttered with harshness, it means a devil.

quite so harmless, which was none other than to jostle me as I came out and attempt to pick my pockets. One daring fellow stepped up to me, and, with his nose almost touching mine, took a deliberate survey of my apparel, and was coolly putting forth his hands to unhook the chain that confined my watch. This was "coming it rather too strong." I glanced my eye at the guide, who was evidently alarmed and embarrassed; and seeing no chance of assistance or protection, I drew one foot back to aid the impetus of the blow I meditated planting between the fellow's two eyes. This demonstration of non-approval of his wish to appropriate some little token of remembrance, and my friend's unwillingness to receive the souvenir I was ready to accord him, caused his retreat; but it was made slowly, and with a growl, and a look of any thing but satisfaction, at my insensibility to the honour he would so readily have conferred upon me. But I shook my fist at him in a way not to be mistaken; and with a few hearty expletives, the reverse of blessings, signed with an authoritative air for the rest to clear the way, and guarding my watch-pocket with one fist, and with the other fist in readiness to attack or defend, I passed through the rabble unmolested. My conductor was much frightened, and from that moment got another person to bear us company. The Chinese have certainly no partiality for us; they say we are the cause of too much "bobbery pigeon;"* and at almost every shop I visited, they tried to persuade me

* Troublesome business.

into confessing that I was an American. Our Transatlantic friends are nicely reaping the benefit of our exertions.

Allusion has been made to the great variety of food, fruits, and vegetables exposed in their markets. But I was almost made sick by a very unexpected display. A chapman, with two large buckets suspended at either end of a bamboo, was coming along crying his wares. When a buyer offered, down went his buckets; and I saw that one was half full of frogs, similar to the field frogs in England, only darker in colour; and the other, half full of water. After a little bargaining, the salesman seized several of the unfortunate frogs, and, with his long thumb nail, making a transverse split in their skins at the lower part of their bellies, in less time than it has taken me to write it, he had turned them inside out; and there they were, with their globular eyes protruding through their flayed heads, struggling horribly with their raw legs in the bucket of water. The purchaser, noting the expression of my face, asked if we had nothing of the kind in our country.

"O yes," said I, "we have plenty, but we don't use them as food." He smiled compassionately, as if pitying our ignorance; and I turned away to avoid the chance of throwing up my breakfast. Without doubt, our crimping cod, and skinning live eels, are practices equally repulsive; but I had never seen a skinned frog before, and the sight was horrid.

It is a mark of gentility amongst the Chinese to wear long finger-nails; and, as we were walking

along, I noticed a soothsayer pursuing his cabalistical researches into destiny before a deeply-interested company of moon-struck flats, whose finger-nails were at least three inches long. They appeared of the substance of horn, and, from their great length, had taken a spiral curve. All men engaged in the polite arts wear their nails unusually long; and, from the apparently awkward manner in which artists employed in portrait or landscape painting hold their pencils, I was amazed at the exquisite finish they are enabled to impart to their drawings, particularly in water colours upon ivory, which requires the utmost nicety of touch. Chinese artists are skilful copyists, but no designers; they understand nothing of perspective, if left to themselves, and their paintings are spiritless and void of expression; but give them any thing to copy, and they will imitate with great fidelity. The people have a great passion for monstrosities. The most outlandish figures and contortions are painted in elaborate colours on their walls and buildings; and in many of the graven images they expose for sale, they could not be accused of breaking the second commandment; for they are neither "the likeness of any thing that is in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or in the waters under the earth." This passion for the grotesque is carried out in their houses, their junks, and even in their temples; nor are their gardens free from this peculiar taste: they train flowers and shrubs to represent the most monstrous forms; and they possess amongst themselves the secret art of dwarfing flower and

fruit trees to the minutest extent. I have seen rose-trees not six inches high, bushy and in full bearing, the roses not larger than a silver threepenny piece; and the bamboo, which, in its natural state, shoots upwards of thirty or forty feet in height, reduced to a growth not exceeding as many inches. They have forced monstrosities in the opposite extreme; and it appears to be the idiosyncracy of the nation to delight in perverting nature. One of the most amusing and laughable instances of the force of training over instinct, may be seen on the river, a little above Whampoa. Squadrons of ducks, belonging to various boatmen, will start off to their owners from the muddy banks, their feeding grounds, at given signals; and such a struggling and squattering takes place, without any apparent inducement, as to which shall get first on board, that you are quite at a loss. The reason is accounted for: the last comer gets saluted with sundry raps on the head, by way of inculcating more alertness for the future; and this is the invariable practice, no matter how little in fault laglast may be.

The foreign factories are on the right-hand side of the river; on the opposite are warehouses for merchandize; and two or three miles higher up, on the side with the warehouses, are the grounds of the horticulturists, where you may stroll at pleasure amidst a great variety of flowers, shrubs, and fantastic contortions of nature. Each garden is furnished with an artificial basin of water, which is covered with the lotus or water-lily. This flower and the

bamboo, with its graceful foliage, are the greatest favourites in all Chinese works of art, when they depart from their usual monstrous style of designing.

Any one understanding the English language would soon have no difficulty in making himself understood in those parts of China open to commercial intercourse, as nearly all the Chinese can speak a limited amount of transmogrified English, sufficient for all ordinary purposes; but it is necessary for the interlocutor to put his questions in the same broken gibberish, or he might as well talk in the unknown tongue. To give a specimen of the Chinese-English colloquial style: I ask a limner if he can take my likeness.

"My wantchee you paintee my facee?"

"Can do!"

"Can paintchee welly proper?"

"Can secure!"

"My too muchee 'fraid no can secure proper."

"Can do! suppose you no like my have finish, no can pay."

All the "boys," ready at a moment's notice to serve you in the capacity of flunkies, are skilled in this dialect. You give them from six to ten dollars a month, with which they board and find themselves. Wherever you go they follow; and if you put up at a friend's house, they make arrangements with the compredore of the establishment. The compredore is one of the most useful individuals to foreigners in China. He is your cash-keeper, your house-provider, your price-current, and, as regards all Chinese intelligence, your quid nunc; he disburses all household

expences, and is responsible for every thing. The "boys" are cleanly and well-dressed after the fashion of their country, creditable-looking fellows enough, but are never likely to injure themselves by over exertion, as, the moment you ask them to do anything they object to, or esteem derogatory, they cry, "My no savee," and call the coolie or house-porter.

CHAP. XII.

Bound for San Francisco. — Pass through the Strait of Formosa, and cross Tunghai or the Eastern Sea. — The Sea of Japan. — Headed off by the Wind. — The Asses' Ears and an unnoticed Rock. — Heavy Gale. — A cluster of Islands badly laid down. — A Tree coated with Barnacles. — The Sun crosses the Equinox and brings change of Weather. — Shooting Stars. — A Song. — Another Forest Giant adrift. — Fogs. — The Land. — Shoal Water. — Port San Francisco. — No mistake about the Auriferous Region. — Attendants of the Gold Digger. — Supposed extent of the Auriferous Region. — Population. — Extravagant prices. — Gamblers. — The "Hounds." — The Fever of Immigration. — Disparity in the value of Services. — The principal recipients of the Gold. — Sansalito. — An Indian Sweating House. — The Field thrown open to Adventurers. — House Rent. — Price of Land. — Cities. — Sacramento City. — Suttor's Fort. — Enterprise of Captain Suttor. — First discovery of the Gold. — The Gambling Mania. — An Alfresco Mart. — Suttor's Town. — The Labour imposed upon the Brute Creation and consequent great Mortality. — A suggestion given and how received. — Whirling excitement of the Times. — Copies of two Dinner Bills. — The Weather of San Francisco. — Shipowners will have to take warning. — Eagerness with which people endeavour to leave the Country. — Desertion, and the impossibility of preventing it. — Comparison instituted between British North America and the United States. — "Huzza for Otaheite!"

"Pass we the long, unvarying course, the track
Oft trod, that never leaves a trace behind;
Pass we the calm, the gale, the change, the tack,
And each well-known caprice of wave and wind."

BYRON.

"If there is a place on earth deserving the name of 'Hell,' California has pre-eminent claims for it."— *Extract from a Letter of one who had visited the Diggings.*

August 15th. — Having sustained an annoying detention for the last fortnight, to-day we cleared the Ly-ee-moon passage, to face the "world of waters" between Hong Kong and San Francisco, California: yes, I am bound for the El Dorado, where, notwithstanding all its gold, I expect to find much misery and destitution. I go, merely as a carrier, as I do not see my way sufficiently clear to speculate upon chances.

The wind admitting, we passed through the Strait of Formosa, and, keeping nearer to the main land, sighted several barren broken islets. Not being able to head better than north-north-east, and north by east, we sailed through Tunghai, or the Eastern Sea, and entered the Strait of Corea, leading into the Japan Sea, which latter we thought of crossing, and again leaving by the Strait of Matsmai, when we should be in favourable latitude for westerly breezes, and with a clear sea before us.

August 25th, we were to the northward and eastward of Quelport, a bold, lofty island, at the southern extremity of the peninsula of Corea, and were in the very gut of the strait, when the wind chopped round, and came directly from the point to which our course conducted.

August 26th. — An anxious night of close beating brought us not far distant from a cluster of barren

rocky islets, only marked on the chart as "the Asses' Ears." These are two asinine auricular-looking peaks, which may have obtained the name for the group. But about twenty-two miles west-north-west from them, there are some dangerous small rocks above water, not noticed on the chart. Shortly after losing sight of them, we encountered so heavy a gale, that we were compelled to lower our top-gallant masts and yards upon deck. Our fore-top-mast stay-sail was blown to ribbons, and we had to furl everything and lay to under a main try-sail.

August 29th. — Last night the gale moderated, but we were afraid to set canvass, as we cannot depend upon our chart, and many islands lie grouped in our route. At day-light high land was discernible, and we immediately commenced crowding all sail to effect a clear entrance into the Pacific.

Steered through a cluster of islets. On the chart two only were delineated to the southward of us, denominated Pinnacle Island and Ronosima; but five distinct bold pinnacle islets were in view. To the northward of us we had Isle Julie and Volcano Isle; and further to the eastward the towering summit of Jakumosima was seen peering above the clouds. The islands are very inaccurately mapped. Breakers seemed to stretch a considerable distance west by north from the west side of the most eastern of the Pinnacle Islands; and several small, sharp-pointed, isolated rocks, not noticed on the chart, lie about four miles east from its eastern extremity. The passage between these two groups is about forty

miles in width, and clear. Towards evening, as we lay nearly becalmed, we could see dense volumes of white smoke issuing from the crater of Volcano Island.

August 30*th.*—My old foe, the east wind, would not allow us to weather Tanogasima, a long and an unusually flat island, situate north-east from Jakumo-sima. From this date, to *September* 6*th*, we were contending with head-winds; when we again caught a snoring breeze. We were not far distant from land, by calculation, as day declined. The moon "had not yet filled her horns;" and though her lustre was somewhat dimmed by the vapory clouds and driving scud, we determined on running, as the other islands had all proved high and bold; and we passed the islands Futsisio and Onangosimo without seeing either.

September 18*th.*—It is either a surfeit or a famine with us; too much wind or too little, or, by way of variety, a "dead muzzler." How singularly and perseveringly at variance with all the information received from others our own experience continues to prove! "At this season of the year run through the Strait of Formosa, and get as quickly as possible into high latitude, and you may ensure strong north-westerly winds." Such were our instructions. For five days after my last entry, we had south-east and east-south-east breezes; and for the last five days, although in lat. 38°N., it has been all but a dead calm; and we have not gained much from our 160th degree of east longitude, thirty-four days out; and when the

deuce we are to reach California, it is hard to say. Fate is cruelly adverse, and has been so ever since I quitted Tahiti in January last. "Oh, that I had wings like a dove!" as the psalmist says. A light breeze has sprung up, but there seems "no heart" in it.

September 19th.—By deductions from observations to-day, we were in lat. 38° 18′ N., and long. 162° 13′ E., and more than 800 miles from the nearest land, when we fell in with the huge trunk of a tree coated with barnacles. In smooth water it might have readily been taken, at a distance, for the edge of a reef, which may help to account for the nonexisting shoals and reefs dotted upon the general charts. As we were *actually moving* at the rate of three or four knots, I would not venture to disregard so favourable a circumstance by lowering a boat to indulge our curiosity; but now, half-past five, P. M., I regret to indite that we are once more in the doldrums. The ship is walloping lazily like a pig in the mire, and the sails are thrashing their souls out. Surely, for a continuance, no man ever had such luck—gales or calms: this appears my lot, either being equally injurious; the flapping of the sails in a calm causing as much damage as the straining of the vessel in a storm. What can I do? This!—afford another instance of the feebleness of man, and the uncertainty of human knowledge. What do we pretend to know?

September 23rd.—The last ten days have been little better than a calm, with a scorching atmos-

phere; the thermometer rarely below 88°. To-day the sun crossed the equinox and commenced south declination; about the time of change a breeze suddenly introduced itself from the northward, and feelingly made acquaintance with the tips of our noses and ears. The thermometer fell at once 23°; the barometer remains stationary at 30·1°.

September 30th. — What in vulgar parlance are called "shooting stars" were very brilliant to-night. I have never heard any satisfactory explanation given of the phenomena. A supposition prevails in some parts of England that any wish uttered when a star is falling will be gratified. I thought of it this evening. Ecce signum!

The husband doom'd by fate to rove
O'er rolling seas to scenes afar,
With thoughts intent upon his love,
Oft strove to stay each "falling star."
On nights serene he'd watch the skies,
To mark the meteors in the air,
The deep love seated in his eyes,
Glowing like any planet there.

And when an inward voice would cry,
"From superstitious eld refrain,"
His lip would smile, but still his eye
Would seek the meteoric train;
And ever as the shooting light
Would glance across the vault above,
'Twould blaze, then vanish from his sight,
Ere he could form his words of love.

"Forbear! forbear thy vain fond gaze!
Canst thou arrest the lightning's flight?"
Again he sees the meteor's blaze,
Again 'tis vanish'd from his sight.
But now before his steadfast eyes
A brilliant point breaks into life,
And now with rapturous joy he cries,
"All joy to my beloved wife!"

October 6th. — Came across another giant of the forest adrift on the ocean. We were in latitude 41° 26′ N., longitude 153° 36′ W.; the nearest land being more than a thousand miles distant. From the shattered branches spreading at one extremity, and the length and straightness of the stem, we took it for a pine. It was also coated with barnacles.

October 18th. — On the chart to the eastward of the coast of Japan, from latitude 40° to 50° N., it is remarked "thick fogs hereabout." There may be; I am not prepared to dispute the fact; nor do I wish to prove it, as we are more than surfeited where we are. For the last nine days we have never had a clear horizon; the sky overhead is cloudless, but the sea is invested with a vapour as white and impervious as that issuing from a steam boiler. By calculation we are in the latitude of San Francisco, and within twenty miles of its longitude. We have had glimpses of the land in the last three days that we have been lying like a log; but now, for all that we can see, the land might be a thousand miles from us. A man on board who resided in San Francisco for two years, gives us the gratifying assurance that we are experiencing the

best of California weather. The calm and fog are absolute.

October 19*th.* — Whales, porpoises, and a variety of the cetaceous order, with other inhabitants of the watery empire, had been disporting around us. Penguins, shags, pelicans, curlews, sea-gulls, and other tenants of the air had been circling above us, and for hours we had listened to the deep hum of the beating waves upon the coast. When, on the evening of my last diurnal note, as the sun, with a red staring disc, like the inflamed face of a drunken strumpet, was slowly sinking below the western horizon, a light breeze rustled over the waters and shook the curtain of fog that enveloped us; and as its folds rolled slowly upward, it revealed what we presume to be the abrupt headlands to the northward of Port San Francisco; but as we have been for so many days without a correct observation of any of the heavenly bodies, we cannot speak positively. We were not four miles from the shore; and night, with its raven wing, having already commenced to over-shadow us, to avoid danger we were compelled to stand from that which we were so anxiously striving to make; and now we are more *mist*ified than ever, vapours more dense encompassing us, shutting out all sights and sounds, and enfettering the ocean with its dark stillness, it is so sullenly calm.

October 20*th.* — This morning the fog began to roll away in fleecy-looking clouds, and the veil of mist again uplifting itself once more, disclosed the land at no great distance. At ten A. M. by double

altitudes, we ascertained our latitude to be exactly that assigned to the entrance of port San Francisco; but we saw nothing of the Farillones rocks, dotted on the chart as being about twenty three miles in a west-south-westerly direction from the harbour. There being every prospect of the weather continuing fine for the remainder of the day, to make "assurance doubly sure," we resolved to await the result of meridian altitude before standing in for the coast. At noon we received confirmation of our previous observations, and without further delay we made for the port. Suddenly we shoaled our water, and found ourselves on the bank running off the north headland of the entrance. Seven, five, and three fathoms were the soundings, called out by the leadsmen in rapid succession. We tacked to the westward again, and happily got into deeper water. Whilst feeling our way with the lead, we noticed a schooner lying at anchor outside the entrance, and in a short time we took the mid-channel. The narrowest part of the entrance is not a mile in width; the headlands on either side are abrupt, scarped-looking rocks; an old fort frowning from the summit of the southern one. A small white islet, called by us Bird Island, marked on the chart Los Alcatraze, is an excellent guide after rounding the fort headland. By keeping to the southward of Bird Island, a treacherous sunken rock, called Blossom rock, is avoided, and you come in sight of the anchorage. And what a scene opened upon us: at the least there were 300 vessels jammed together like trees in a forest; and, at the distance

we first sighted them, they conveyed the idea of one of the Low Islands of the dangerous Archipelago, crowned with its serried ranks of cocoa-nut trees. The harbour of San Francisco is from five to fifteen miles in width, and extends lengthwise, under different names, to nearly eighty miles. The city is on its south side, and from the peculiar undulating formation of the land, is destined at some future day to be a most magnificent one. Taking up our station amidst the fleet, we moored according to the directions of the harbour master.

On landing, I was surprised at the extent of the city. Eight months prior to our arrival, I had heard that there were not above twenty or thirty houses scattered about: now, however, wooden houses and tents spread over an area of miles. *Men* of all nations, and countries, and tongues, are assembled together at a spot, which two years ago was only known by name to the rest of the world: when I say men, I mean literally the masculine gender, as there is not one woman present to 500 men; consequently, the bull-like-herding of society may be imagined. Scarcely any attempt is made at preserving the decencies of exterior appearance: it is rare to meet a countenance in acquaintance with the razor; and the comforts of domestic life are utterly unknown. *Gold,* the grand arcanum which has allured so many strangers of different nations and tongues to one focus, is plentiful beyond all calculation; and it is the generally received opinion, that its various sources are very far from being yet discovered. The gold brought from the dry and the wet diggings,

it is conjectured, are merely alluvial deposits, washed during the rainy season from a more distant mountainous district; and the lumps of quartz continually introduced, worn by the abrading action of water, veined and starred with gold, would seem to support the hypothesis. Whenever the gold-seekers hit upon the dry course of a torrent that has changed its direction, they are eminently successful in their labours; others, again, sustain much loss of time and labour by damming up the beds of water-courses and diverting their channels, under the impression of finding gold, yet meeting with none, from the probability that the eruptive courses are of modern date. I have conversed with many who have been "to see the elephant," as going to the mines is called, and from one and all learn the great hardship that must be undergone by those in pursuit of the "pernicious metal." The heat they say is pestiferous to a degree beyond anything they could have previously conceived, and, so deleterious, that hundreds have perished unheeded and unrecorded. Some parts are not so baleful as others; but at most, the heavily burthened atmosphere subdues both the body and spirit of man. No tents can resist the penetrating influence of the poisonous night-dews, and fever and ague, scurvy and a leprous breaking out of the body, are some of the ills attendant on the labours of the gold-digger. The extent of the gold region is barely surmised, but that its area involves many hundred square miles there cannot be a doubt. From the Bay of San Francisco, the Sacramento River branches in various directions, all conducting to the gold

placeres extending for hundreds of miles. The main stream is called the Sacramento, and it branches off northerly into the Feather River, Juba River, Bear Creek, North Fork, Middle Fork, South Fork, &c.; and in a south-easterly direction the stream is called San Joaquin River, which again branches into Cosumnes River, Dry Creek, Mokelomies River, Calaveras River, Stanislaus River, Toulomie River, Mercedes River, &c.; all so many water routes to the "diggings." But it would not surprise me if it was hereafter proved that a belt running through the whole of Upper and Lower California, Central America, and Peru was equally rich with what we have hitherto been in the habit of designating the precious metals. The immense quantities of gold and silver, transmitted to Europe by the early Spanish Adventurers to these countries will be borne in mind. Pure lumps of virgin gold were extorted from the wretched Incas, by their rapacious invaders; and probably the persevering spirit of the Anglo-Saxon race is alone wanting to develope the true sources of so much mineral wealth.

There can be no exaggeration of the gold in Upper California; for every one acquainted with the diggings seems to concur in the opinion that it is inexhaustible; and, the means of its attainment being ever at hand to those capable of enduring hardship and privation, a reckless desire for it and a spirit of gambling have been induced, which probably the world never before saw equalled. In the city of San Francisco it is estimated that there are 30,000 inhabitants, and at the diggings and other newly sprung-

up cities, the population has been variously estimated at from 50,000 to 150,000. But some say this latter estimate is outrageously exaggerated; and my experience does not enable me to decide the question. In some districts the labourers at the diggings are so numerous that each man's allowance of soil to work upon is limited to a space six feet square; and with no law or government, save certain summary measures rigorously enforced amongst themselves for the slightest infraction of peace or honesty, the utmost order and tranquillity prevails. A man may leave his watch suspended to the bough of a tree, or any other valuable exposed in any open tent, and there it will remain till its owner seeks it. The necessity of adopting some measures for the protection of individual rights, so far from the field of judicial interference, was so apparent, that it was voted by acclamation that any infringement should be visited with instant death; and upon any robbery being committed, a jury from the nearest workmen is impanelled, and, according to its finding, the accused is acquitted or led out and shot. Nothing fit for the food of man is indigenous to the auriferous regions; consequently the necessaries of life have to be transported thither by the adventurer; and the expenses upon this would startle the most incredulous. A barrel of flour, worth at San Francisco 30$, would fetch at the mines 200$! a dollar a pound being the common price for it: and all other things are in proportion.

Accustomed to these monstrous prices, when the miner comes down with his "pile" he looks at the

extravagant rates in San Francisco as remarkably reasonable; and as there are no females to guide or influence his conduct, he in too many instances throws away his "dust," the result of his labours and privations, with the coolest indifference: and these gentry have a pride, as being the owners of considerable wealth, in appearing at all times and in all places in the rugged costume worn at and only adapted for the mines. But there is another class of men not so regardless of *that* which the miners are so prodigal of, and these may be called the curses of the country —professional gamesters dispersed throughout, who spare no pains nor expense to allure their victims. The number of "Hells" is frightful, and each one is provided with a bar for the sale of wines, spirits, and intoxicating cordials, and bands of music are in attendance to excite the passions and drown the conscience. Some of the gamblers pay as high as 1000$ and 2000$ a month for their stands; and one wooden building of no great extent lets at the enormous rental of 120,000$ per annum. This is no exaggeration; neither is there any when I say that day and night the gambling houses are thronged, and at nights almost to suffocation. As for walking in or out of any of these establishments, the feat is utterly out of the question: you have to sidle and squeeze your way through the crowd as you best may; and, astonishing as the fact may seem, it is nevertheless true, that, notwithstanding all the stimulants provocative of excitement, disturbances rarely ensue; and it is wonderful to see drunken men who have lost large sums of money carefully endeavouring

to avoid collision with others as they make their exit from the tables. This may partly be explained and accounted for. At the termination of the war with Mexico, a considerable body of disbanded volunteers, the sweepings of the jails and penitentiaries, the heroes of Monterey — such is glory! — were let loose upon California. Banded together under the self-assumed nomenclature of "hounds," they set all law and order at defiance, and for a time perpetrated the most wanton excesses with impunity. At length the measure of the better-ordered portion of the community's forbearance was full, full to overflowing, and organizing themselves into a body of "guards," they pursued the "hounds" with unsparing rigour: some they lynched, some they shot, and others were sent to the United States to take their trial; and the residue finding that success no longer seconded their lawless efforts, have probably merged into quiet citizens.

Reports of the "Hounds" proceedings, checked for awhile the impulse of immigration from the older states; but the improved aspect of affairs with the large sums of gold monthly transmitted across the Isthmus has raised the "fever" to a more exacerbated height than at any former period. By the last mail it was reported that 30,000 applicants were turned away from the New York Packet office, from inability to accommodate them with passages; and it is greatly to be feared that this land of gold will become a land of the most fearful destitution. Of the many who have perished at the mines nothing is heard, but of the many who return laden with treasure,

"rumour," with her hundred tongues, catches up the announcement, and spreads the report far and near. To every man well furnished by nature with muscle, bone, and a strong constitution, the means of repairing the caprices of fortune are at all times at hand in this singularly favoured country; consequently labour and handicraft work is at an immense premium, whilst the services of those skilled in the humanities are at a comparative discount. A cook is worth from 150$ to 200$ per month, a day labourer 5$ a day, a mechanic 15$, and a common sailor from 70$ to 120$ per month; whilst a man of bookish knowledge and cunning in accounts is scarcely of the same value as a waiter at an hotel. No one thinks of rearing stock, or cultivating the soil, and the country is entirely dependent on foreign supplies. It is to be apprehended that the auriferous contagion will spread not only to neighbouring districts, but even to distant colonies; and it is with all seriousness I write, that I look forward to the time when I expect to hear that New Zealand and the Australian colonies of Great Britain have been abandoned by their most useful class of settlers, in the eager desire of the latter to secure for themselves with all speed a modicum of that metal which has so long ruled the destinies of the world. But "it is not all gold that glitters," and sickness and misery are not confined to the mining districts: they reign twin sisters over a considerable proportion of the populace in San Francisco. I have noticed houseless wretches shivering with the ague, wearing out life on their trunks, a blanket in addition to their body-clothing

being their only protection from the elements. I have seen others, again, reposing on the bare ground, with the sky as a canopy, manfully struggling with their fate till they could secure the opportunity of reaching the "el dorado," the "land of promise," "to do or die." No man seems to seek for sympathy from his fellow: it would almost appear, that, in the absence of woman, man sternly resigns himself to his destiny, as if intuitively persuaded that it were vain to seek for succour or compassion from his own sex. In some glances which I encountered, much suffering was painfully depicted; but no expression indicative of a wish to excite commiseration. The thirst for gold sadly tends to warping the bias of man's nature: I have heard from several that at the mines it is literally "every man for himself," and to be taken ill is the next thing to a summons from death. Many on being seized succumb with scarcely a struggle; others, with iron constitutions, successfully contend against both privations and disease; but there are others, again, who only obtain relief by resorting to other scenes and climes. The gamblers and medical men appear to be those who are reaping the richest harvest from the exertions of the miners. I have conversed with those who have paid an ounce of gold for an ounce of Epsom salts; and poor wretches, received under miserable shelters called hospitals, have been compelled to pay 100$ per week for their accommodation. Two or three I fell in with, who had wrought hard and suffered many privations in the acquirement of 3000$ and 4000$ worth of gold, were glad to escape from the fangs of the

disciples of Galen, with the loss of two thirds of their perilously-earned treasure.

On the opposite side of the bay, in a north-westerly direction from the city of San Francisco, distant six or seven miles, is a place called San Salito. I paid it a visit, and, owing to the *gentle breezes* so prevalent in the bay, was confined to a ship lying off there for eight days, without a chance of quitting it. There is nothing of particular interest in San Salito: a saw-mill worked by steam-power has recently been erected close to a miserable watering place, and this, with a kind of farmstead owned by an Englishman, married to a Spanish creole of the country, and many years a resident in it, are the only erections of civilized man. A deserted sweating-house of the aboriginal natives was pointed out to me, and its uses described. A circle ten or twelve feet in diameter is hollowed in the ground to the depth of a foot or two: the outer edge of the circle is surrounded with poles from twenty to twenty-five feet in length, which slope inwardly and meet in a point: these poles are covered in with sod and earth, a small aperture only being left for admission of the patient. A fire is kindled in the interior; and, swathed in his blanket, the patient remains to take his sweat, according to the time prescribed by the medicine man. I am told that this is the principal means resorted to by the Indians to expel any inveterate sickness; but the race is nearly extinct in the neighbourhood of San Francisco, and I could obtain no further information relative to them or their habits.

A Dutch vessel of war arrived from China during

my detention at San Salito, and brought papers announcing the murder of the governor of Macao by the Chinese. I was not surprised to hear it. It was plain that his conduct had made him detested, particularly the act involving the ruthless violation of ancestral ashes, which brought upon him "curses not loud, but deep." The prompt celerity with which his attempt to "ride rough shod" over British subjects met defeat, no doubt accelerated the doom that was in store for him. But sooner or later the blow was sure to have fallen. That he was a brave man no one will deny, and having been such, it is to be deplored that he fell by the hands of assassins. But what is valour without discretion — a bootless virtue. A man is but a man, and every day the world is becoming more sensible of the truism. The days of knight-errantry are gone, and any such attempts as those of the poor governor's are strongly illustrative of the fable of the "frog and the ox." Probably his unhappy death may furnish a salutary lesson to other delegates from petty powers, and teach them that where they have not the force to carry out the "fortiter in re," it is better to jog along quietly and preserve the "suaviter in modo."

Shortly after the conquest of California, the city of San Francisco was planned; and streets, crossing each other at right angles, were mapped on a shoal extending 400 or 500 yards into the sea. The *water privileges* thus thrown open to the good citizens of California found ready buyers at 16$ and 18$ the lot; but since then the mighty influx of immigrants

has so incalculably raised the price of land, that I much doubt whether I shall obtain credence for particulars that transpired before my own eyes.

In the "Declaration of Rights," section 17, it is provided — That foreigners who are, or who may hereafter become, bonâ fide residents of this State, shall enjoy the same rights in respect to the possession, enjoyment, and inheritance of property, as native-born citizens." This appears to me a liberal and a wise provision; but it has opened the most extraordinary field for adventurers that has ever been seen or heard of in the annals of the world. Be it remembered that the gold of the country is inexhaustible, or assumed to be so, and be it known that gold dust is the general circulating medium received at 16$ the ounce troy weight: speculators or schemers, or land sharks, or whatever other term they are known by, who had scarcely a dollar to bless themselves with on their first arriving in the country, becoming convinced of the fact that the *mines were banks not likely soon to break*, and foreseeing, moreover, the mighty mass of population that must eventually find its way to this wonderful region, commenced gambling in real estate, by degrees at first, and assisted by credit. Supported by the influx of new comers, glad for a season to get housed any where, houses have been rattled up and sales of land effected unexampled before this era. The gamblers have aided this state of things by the enormous rentals they are willing to pay for their stations, and which per consequence, keep up the

rental of every description of property at rates hitherto unheard of. For *any sort of room*, ten feet by twelve, forty and fifty dollars per month is the lowest sum asked and paid. A small wooden cottage, consisting of two rooms and a kitchen, will let readily at 200$ per month; and any kind of a store, with one or two rooms off it, leases at from 1500$ to 2000$ per month. The merchants in San Francisco wished to erect a building for an exchange, and a land-holder having a spot of land deemed eligible for its site, application was made to him for it: he declined selling, but offered to lease it at the modest ground rent of 14,000$ per annum. And what may the reader imagine was the extent of this piece of land? *Why, it did not exceed eighty feet by sixty.* I was present when the merchant deputed to make the inquiry put the question, and heard the response. At first I thought the matter was a jest, and treated it as such: but subsequently the merchants not agreeing to pay this enormous ground rent, the same piece of land has been leased at a rental of 29,000$ per annum. But that "there is method in the people's madness" is shown by the way in which the lease is prepared, as it contains a clause regulating the rental every six months, subjecting it to addition or subtraction, according to the rise or fall of property; and arbitrators are to be appointed half-yearly to fix the rental for each ensuing six months.

The merchant who inquired the price of the land on which it was contemplated to erect an exchange, shortly after made a bonâ-fide purchase of one of the

18$ water privileges, for which he paid 20,000$; and as he and I were taking a walk, we made a descent into a sandy hollow, bordering on the sea, where much wretchedness and sickness were found under canvass tents, but which has received in mockery the name of the "happy valley;" and coming to a wooden shanty, occupied by some Sandwich Island Kanakas, my companion inquired whose lease and lot they were occupying.

"Mine," said one of the men.

"Then why don't you sell it, and go to your own country, where you never suffer from cold and sickness as you are now doing? Why, I dare say, you could get a thousand dollars for it!" urged my companion.

"It's worth more than that, sir," replied the man, in very good English. "I was offered 5000$ for it, and refused it."

This was a clincher, and we renewed our jaunt, which we continued till we reached the mission of Saint Dolores; and here squatters were locating themselves in every direction, it being part of the general constitution of the United States *that any unoccupied government lands* may be taken possession of by her citizens, and in this country the privilege extends to foreigners, who may claim pre-emption rights and obtain fee-simples of property thus acquired by paying the government upset price of land. This privilege extends only to a certain proportion of land for each individual, and the land must be occupied and improved.

Successful speculators in San Francisco have gone further afield, and projectors have planned towns and cities on ranchos or tracts of land, in the hope of obtaining similar results. At the confluence of the Rivers Sacramento and San Joaquin, "New York City of the Pacific" has been laid out. Besides this, on the route to the city of Sacramento, there are San Raphael, Benicia, Martinez, Montezuma, Suisoon, Webster, and Sutterville, no less than eight cities, within a distance of forty miles; but with the exception of New York and Benicia, which have a sprinkling of wooden houses, the others, at present, only rejoice in the name.

The city of Sacramento may be estimated as eighty or ninety miles from San Francisco. The land is more elevated here than at parts lower down the river, and spreads away into a vast plain far as the eye can gaze. The city has been laid out with some regard to its future destinies; fine wide streets are left for public traffic, and many of the giants of the forest remain unscathed by the axe, imparting a sylvan appearance and grace to the roads, without in any way interfering with the busiest wayfarers or traffic that can throng the scene. The place is covered with houses and tents, which have arisen as if by the touch of a magic wand. What a few months ago was primeval forest land, bears now the worn traces of a traffic that has annihilated all such primitive vestiges, with the exception of the trees above alluded to, judiciously spared to promote both elegance and comfort; for I am told that in the

summer season the climate is intemperately hot, and the country deluged with showers of impalpable dust swept from the plains, by the then prevalent strong winds. The banks of the Sacramento are, generally speaking, low and marshy; and I have heard that the city itself is occasionally subject to being flooded. I think it exceedingly probable, although I could detect no indications of such an event being of recent occurrence. Lower down the river there is no want of the most conclusive evidence on this point, the bushes and trees furnishing irrefragable testimony thereof.

Ships of 200 and 300 tons burthen, and many smaller craft, lie moored to the banks off the city. Whether they will ever get away again is problematical. Having accomplished the voyage thus far, it is not unlikely that their sacrifice can be submitted to. Not a vessel in San Francisco possesses its complement of men. Mine all quitted as soon as it suited their convenience, and we were compelled to hire others at 5$ a day. From Sacramento City is one of the greatest thoroughfares to the "diggings," which may account for its unexampled rise; and landholders, both there and at San Francisco, have found themselves, without any effort or exercise of judgment, suddenly the possessors of princely incomes, merely by the rental of lands formerly of no value, and which, in the wildest dreamings of imagination, could never have been contemplated as likely to yield more than a bare existence, if even they were capable of doing that.

About two miles from Sacramento City, in an

easterly direction, is Suttor's Fort, a quondam trading post, established some years ago by a Swiss gentleman, known as Captain Suttor. Tired with the busy hum of civilised life, this gentleman sought retirement in the wilds of California, and, like the agents of the Hudson's Bay Company, devoted his time to traffic with the Indians, and the endeavour to improve the country. He had (so it is asserted) hundreds of Indians in his employ, and became a little king amongst his dependants, who looked to him for food and clothing. The fort is an oblong square of adobe walls, with bastions at the four corners; compartments run round the interior of the walls, and in the centre of the square stands a two-storied house of greater pretensions, and which, probably, was Suttor's residence. It is now converted into a public house. Captain Suttor's exertions were not confined to very narrow limits, for whilst he was engaged in constructing a dam for the purpose of irrigation at a place upwards of forty miles from the fort, his people, in cutting a mill race to drive a saw, ripping the timber necessary for the construction of the dam, chanced to hit upon the wonderful discovery of the great fecundity of the gold in the country. From that moment, "Othello's occupation was gone:" the news spread like wildfire. Thousands rushed to the scene, and Captain Suttor has become more notorious, and is more forced into society of the roughest and most uncongenial nature that ever fate could have exposed him to in any—the most densely crowded — city in Europe. I pity his position, as he is looked upon as a sort of *rara*

avis, and every successful man in the country considers himself at liberty to intrude upon him with his rough courtesy and congratulations: by rough courtesy I mean—"What'll you take to drink, Captain Suttor?" and the extent to which this is conducted in Sacramento City is a "caution." "Hells," open to the light of day, and with doors that are closed against the public but for a few hours' intermission, are as crowded here as they are in San Francisco, and night and day the poisoned chalice is presented to the lips of the unreflecting who are in search of pleasure and excitement. The steamboats plying on the river are not free from these abominations, as they have their dice and card tables; and my blood has fairly tingled in my veins, as I have watched the sturdy, rough, and toil-worn miners, sacrifice their earnings on the altars of these hawk-eyed sharpers, who were playing 2500 chances against the miner's one: all China against a China orange: and too often is it the case, that, like a well-sucked orange, the man who stakes his means "upon the hazard of a die" has to roll away from the gambler's table. The whole country is pervaded with the baneful spirit of gaming; but it must be seen to be fully understood. Men from the mines may at all times be seen, hazarding lump of gold against lump, and staking "dust" against dollars; and the perfect indifference with which they witness the fruit of their labour swept from them is not the least remarkable part of the affair. At present, as may naturally be supposed, government is impotent to interfere in crushing this crying evil: nor do I see,

in case of determined opposition, how the government can suppress it. "This is *a free country*," is the continued vaunt, and if the "*enlightened citizens*," are pleased to immolate themselves before men — compared with whom burglars and highwaymen are less culpable, as regards the injury inflicted upon society — who is there to prevent them?

In one of the principal streets in Sacramento, they have a horse market and general auction mart, held daily, *al fresco*, beneath the spreading branches of a gigantic tree; and it is not a little amusing to listen to eight or nine venders calling out the merits of their goods, cattle, and horses, at the same time. All day long they are at it. One, mounted on a horse for sale, will dash into the throng, with, "Here you are, gentlemen, this is the true Yankee breed, a regular ring-tail roarer, warranted sound, wind and limb, or no sale, and only sixty dollars offered for him! tsh! come up!" — "One hundred and fifty! One hundred and fifty! Only one hundred and fifty dollars bid for this splendid team and yoke of oxen," cries another. — "What do you say?" asks a third. "You want blue blankets because they don't show the dirt; you're the wrong chap for these diggings, my fine fellow, if you care for a little dirt; it's the quality of the article, and not its colour, that constitutes its value; and only twelve dollars bid for this splendid pair of blankets." Other cries in other voices are going on, when in again dashes the horseman—"Seventy dollars for the ring-tail; eighty! eighty-five! eighty-five! Don't let him be sacrificed: look at him, he's got any amount of work

in him: see here!" and away once more darts the "true Yankee breed," with its rider shouting out its qualifications and the last bid. And so they keep at it from dawn till dark.

Suttor's town, or Suttorville, two or three miles lower down on the banks of the river will soon be merged in Sacramento City. It possesses few buildings as yet; but the sound of the saw, the hammer, and the axe, never ceases, till the obscurity of night causes a suspension of labour; and such is the driving, tearing, onward-forcing movement, that no mercy is shown to the brute creation. Hundreds upon hundreds of horses, mules, and oxen, lie sweltering on the plains, literally wrought to death with over work and want of food; and what surprised me was, that, though at every fifty paces you will stumble on bloated, decaying carcasses, sometimes lying six and seven in the fellowship of death, they yet emitted no offensive effluvia; which, I presume, speaks for the great purity of the atmosphere. Notwithstanding this, fever and ague are exceedingly prevalent, from the low and marshy nature of the country. I have heard three or four different parties assert that they have pulled over what is now Sacramento City in a boat. To furnish an idea of the reckless-tearing, "go a-head," spirit of the times, I happened to mention to a settler the advisability of raising the banks of the river to where it branches off to the north, middle, and south forks: for the distance is not great, and many lives, probably, and much property might be saved by such a precautionary measure. The answer was,

"What if the city is inundated: it will soon rise like a phœnix from its ashes; and if thousands were to perish, there are plenty more to fill their places." The fact is, in the scramble for wealth, every one is struggling who shall get most in the shortest space of time. No one thinks of raising permanent works; no one thinks of remaining in the country longer than he can avoid; and the idea of waiting returns from the cultivation of the soil is out of the question. The excitement throughout California is so great, that one's head is in a continual whirl. No time is allowed for sober reflection: the cry is ever, "On! On!" You are swept into the whirling vortex, and it requires no little strength of purpose to resist the temptations held out for speculation.

Land in Sacramento city fetches nearly as high a price as it does in San Francisco, and it is continually changing hands at improved rates. Predictions have gone abroad month by month, for the last eighteen months, that there will be a sudden and a mighty crash; but the growing aspect of affairs belies the vaticinations, notwithstanding the immense sums of gold that are shipped monthly from the country, and the absorption caused by the gamblers and hotel keepers, who I cannot but suspect are playing a "rosy game." New hotels and restaurants are being opened every day: they last a few weeks, and are then closed, and the buildings announced for sale or lease. The custom they all receive is immense; so is also the expense they are put to: but their receipts are the "ready," and

8,000$ or 10,000$ shipped off by the steamer at a time would scarcely be noticed. Bagatelle as 10,000$ may appear in California, this sum, invested in the older states, would enable a man to live in much comfort. Whether I am ungenerous in my conjectures let others determine; but one or two shameful failures, falling beneath my notice, render me dubious of the fair play going on.

I partook of two dinners with some friends at one of the hotels in San Francisco, and, as a matter of curiosity, I here insert copies of the bills presented and paid on those occasions: —

(Copy).

Messrs. ———— and Friends,

To Excelsior, Dr.

1849, Nov. 26, for 11 dinners.		
8 Snt. Julien Soup - -	$ 12	0
3 Mock Turtle - - -	1	50
Fish for eleven - - -	15	00
15lbs. roast beef - - -	15	0
10 Corned - - - -	10	0
2 Heads Cabbage - -	13	0
Vegetables with Fish - -	4	50
Potatoes - - - -	6	0
20 Snipe - - - -	20	0
(No such thing; they were a species of blackbird, to be seen in any number hopping about offal).		
Jelly - - - -	3	0
Peaches, plums, almonds, raisins, and 3 pies	24	50
2 Bottles sherry - - - -	8	0
2 Antigua rum - - -	8	0
2 Ale - - - -	4	0
2 Claret - - - -	4	0

1 Hock - - -	$ 4	0
2 Champagne - - -	10	0
7 Oranges - - - -	14	0
Tea (a tea-spoonful to put in punch) - -	1	0
Room 5 hours, 2 allowed - - -	15	0
	$ 191	25

(Copy),

Mr. ————, To EXCELSIOR, Dr.

1849, Dec. 3d, To dinner ordered in private room $ 229 75

Items.

9 Plates Green Turtle Soup (made of pig's head) -	18	0
3 Botts. Champagne - - - -	15	0
2 Claret 4$ 4 Botts. Sherry 16$ -	20	0
1 Porter 2$ 2 Botts. Sherry 8$ -	10	0
8lbs. fish 24$ 8lbs. Potatoes 8$ -	32	0
8lbs. Corned Beef 8$ 1½ Cabbage 9·75 -	17	75
Chops with Potatoes (about a desert plateful) -	20	0
1 Fillet Beef larded (about 4lbs.) -	20	0
1 Tongue - - - - -	6	0
8lbs. Tomatoes - - - -	16	0
13 Snipe and Toast - - - -	25	0
Salmi of Hare (the half of *something* the size of a rat, a party in an adjoining room being favoured with the other half, and charged a similar price) -	15	0
Room occupied 5 hours, 2 allowed - -	15	0
	$ 229	75

This may be called eating with a vengeance; but preposterous as the charges are, they are not so extravagant as some of the charges at the daily bill of fare were; and yet the proprietors of the establishment, without having paid one cent of rent,

made a midnight flitting, as unable to support the expenses of the place.

Society, as understood by that term, is unknown in California: the men congregate in eating-houses; and at the sound of gongs, shoals may be seen rushing to the strife of the knife and fork. There are houses of entertainment like the one alluded to above, where parties at all hours may call for what they require; but the food is generally sodden and clammy, and the expense ruinous to those not participating in California profits; and that John Bull and Uncle Sam will have to groan for the advancement of California there is no mistake. The market is about as uncertain as any to be found; and the fearful prices of goods by retail, does not influence wholesale purchasers, who on most things will scarcely defray cost and charges. Ships are abandoned by "all hands;" and thousands and tens of thousands of dollars' worth of property lie exposed to the elements, from the inability to find store room.

During nine weeks that we spent in San Francisco we had not over ten or eleven days clear weather: dense fogs, down-pouring rains, and hard bleak winds, forming the chief summer of our experience. The damage resulting to the crowded mass of shipping may be imagined; several vessels were driven ashore and became complete wrecks; others lost their bowsprits, topmasts, and light spars. One ship I noticed with two of her lower masts gone, and seven hands were killed by the falling wreck; and again, by dragging and falling foul of

each other, some vessels were nearly cut down to the water's edge. We had several vessels foul of us, but, managed to clear with only the loss of two anchors and cables, the smashing to atoms of a long boat and a beautiful gig, and the destruction of a portion of our bulwarks, sheathing and ornamental work. In other respects, no material injury was sustained. Such mischief occurring now, what is to be the case in another month or two, it will be hard to tell; when I am assured that the winds are likely to blow with much greater constancy and vehemence. Vessels are now jammed up in such close propinquity, that one has scarcely room to swing clear of the other; and as eight or nine came pouring in every week, while but few comparatively get away, *ship-owners will have to take warning.* To my feelings the climate is execrable; an occasional fine day will relieve the gloomy monotony; but the immense traffic so suddenly introduced on unprepared roads, renders the enjoyment of it almost impracticable. The streets are from ankle to knee deep with unctuous mud; and you cannot possibly travel without india rubber overalls, or fishermen's boots. A friend of mine sold a horse for 70$, and paid 64$ for a pair of boots, that at home would have cost 6$ or 8$. I advised him never to admit that he was walking when he had donned these costly brogans; but to insist that he was taking an airing on horseback; but whilst laughing and "poking fun" at him, I was suddenly reduced to the same extremity. From continued saturation and drying by the fire, not a pair of boots belonging to me could I draw on

my feet; and, greatly to my mortification, I also was compelled to "shell out" 64$ for a pair of India rubber boots, which in England might have been obtained for a pound sterling. For a light pair of shoes of the value of six shillings, I had to pay 12$; for getting clothes washed the charge is 6$ a dozen; and if you desire to go 200 or 300 yards in a boat, the waterman's fare is 2$. The summer season is looked upon as the worst in the year, as it then blows, without intermission, a keen, cutting, marrow-searching blast, which bears on its wings clouds of suffocating dust; and the tenements generally throughout the country are of such a temporary construction, that comfort cannot be obtained within them.

A steamer starts the first of every month from San Francisco for Panama; and so soon as it is notified that passengers' tickets will be issued, the office is thronged with applicants, and you may see them in rows thirty and forty deep, waiting their chance to obtain tickets: many are disappointed for want of accommodation; and tickets have been sold second-hand at a hundred per cent premium. I mention this fact to show how little the desire is to remain in the country longer than can possibly be avoided. It will be said that time will rectify all this. I almost doubt it if the gold "holds out," of which I do not entertain a question; and in that case men of brute strength and hardy constitutions, though innocent of every other qualification, are likely to acquire more gold than the subtlest genius that ever entered the

country. Nor can I foresee the time when payment for the services of the labouring class will be reduced to the scale customary with the various grades in other countries.

No merchant is justified in consigning his vessel to San Francisco, unless he is prepared to have her abandoned; not a seaman will stay by her, and in his calculations of profit and loss, he should bear this in mind. No carrying business that I am acquainted with can support the monstrous wages demanded by seamen from this port. As I am bound to Tahiti — no great distance from here — we have succeeded in engaging hands at 80$ for the "run:" the continued rains and wretched weather having reduced them to somewhat reasonable terms. But I do not believe that any wages would induce them to make the voyage to the United States on the Atlantic side or to England. We shipped several crews, agreeing to give them 5$ a day whilst they worked in harbour, and 80$ for the "run;" but, when it "jumped with their humour," they would demand payment for the days they had been working, and walk ashore. Nor have the authorities any power to enforce obedience to agreements. Ship-owners and masters are required to pay the utmost fraction; but the sailor may laugh at written obligations and work his pleasure. The fifteen coolies I brought from China, and who were under a bond for two years with the party who engaged them, were no sooner ashore than they resisted their contract, and each turned his own separate way. Nor would the authorities interfere. It is asserted that the authorities will give you

assistance; yes, but it will cost 50$ for every man that is apprehended, and then you are no better off. No punishment is inflicted on the deserter, and you undergo the risk of a second desertion, and are placed much in the same predicament as the man, who "might lead his horse to water, but could not make him drink;" besides, I believe there are upwards of 3000 deserters in the country, and who are there to arrest them, and who to guard them?

Maugre all these ultra extravagances, adventurers to California have transcended anything hitherto performed on the rough and ready go-ahead principle, putting the crowning proof to the trite old adage, that "'tis money makes the mare to go." A glance at the map will show that the territory of British North America is more extensive than that owned by the United States, but the movement of the people beneath the two governments is not the same. It is true that the climate of British North America is more rigid, and the country may not yield such quick or such prolific returns. But this is not alone the cause of the difference. Our colonial legislation is "behind the time:" it does not suit the striding spirit of the age; and before any radical change can be effected in any branch of colonial policy, the home government must be first consulted, and whilst ministers are pro-ing and con-ing, looking at this side of the question and that, ere they can attain a view of it in all its bearings, Uncle Sam arrives at conclusions on broad principles, and "walks straight ahead," availing himself of hints thrown out by others. In what consists the great charm of elo-

quence? "Action! action!" replied Demosthenes, and the Yankees appear to appreciate the style. They are a "fast people" and a shrewd, but "they vaunt, Sir! Lord, how they vaunt!" Their fewness in number, in comparison with the magnitude of their country, has helped to render them practical economists, and keenly alive to the useless expenditure of time and labour. To illustrate my meaning; the army is in want of a thousand muskets—a contractor is immediately found who will agree to manufacture them, stock, lock, and barrel, so that any part of one will answer for the whole thousand. This, which we should be apt to term "mother wit well exercised," the Yankees dignify with the appellation of "invention:" similar judicious applications of mechanical art obtain like sounding titles. Give them their due; but, as one of their Ethiopian melodies expresses it, "stop that knocking;" in other words, "let them cease bragging." They need not its empty support, and it only detracts from their just deservings.

Unembarrassed by a diversity of possessions beyond seas, the government of the United States is better adapted for a people spreading over a vast continent, than any delegated government from a distant field, and from men ignorant of local requirements. Our colonial governors, for the most part, naval or military men, sent out to improve their fortunes, in reward for former services, or, as is more generally the case, from influential connection with the "powers that be," remain for a period varying from three to five years; and, just as the scales are

beginning to fall from their eyes, and they are becoming conscious that neither martial law, quarter-deck-law, nor the municipal regulations of a county town in England, are those best adapted for towns and cities taking the places of forests, and still encroaching on the wilds and wolds of nature, they are recalled to make way for some other probationer. Many of our colonies complain of this, and seek for the privilege enjoyed by the Yankees, that of regulating their own domestic policy. A son when he reaches manhood does not wish to be held in check by maternal leading-strings; and a colony on acquiring the power to support itself without assistance from the mother country, ought to be allowed to enter into those arrangements which should free it from maternal trammels. If the colony had not cleared its expenses, but still stood indebted to Great Britain, the debt might be wiped off by instalments, and amicable relations continue on reciprocal terms; but not by any trade restrictions for the exclusive advantage of Britain; for I confess that I am opposed to everything in the shape of protection, and think that trade, like water, ought to be allowed to find its level, even with new colonies opened at our expense. Why should men whose energies have tempted them to countries and scenes far distant be denied the opportunity of enjoying at the cheapest mart the benefit of the most improved commerce? If the sales of land and fiscal regulations &c. will not support the expense of establishing new colonies, and at the same time enable us to compete in trade with other countries, and the inquiry

should be, what is to become of our *prolétaires?* our pauper population? what is to become of our convicted felons? I would reply, that no great monument of antiquity was ever erected by free men; the compulsory labour of slaves, criminals, serfs, and vassals, accounts for the massive structures and ponderous works of earlier times. I am not sufficiently versed in the statistics of crime to know the expense that our nation is yearly subjected to in the transportation and maintenance of felons; but I imagine that the muscle and bone services of men, who, by their crimes, had placed themselves without the pale of the law, might be turned to an useful and an atoning account, by causing them to surround Great Britain with defences, independent of its "wooden walls," that should defy the attempts of an invader. She is the nucleus and the wonder of the world, and well worthy of all the jealous care and watchful protection that science, arts and labour can bestow upon her; and most fervent are my prayers that she will not neglect "the piping times of peace" to prepare for any issue, that we may never cease to illustrate the proud boast of the most glorious writer the world ever saw: —

"This England never did, nor never shall,
Lie at the proud foot of a conqueror,
But when she first did help to wound herself.
* * * *
Come the three corners of the world in arms,
And we shall shock them; nought shall make us rue
If England to itself do rest but true."

Amen! and God avert that any matricidal hand should be raised against her! But I have no fear, so long as the liberty of the press is preserved inviolate, and we dare expose to the world our foibles and our weaknesses. It is when a country, besotted with prosperity, and deluded with ideas of its own greatness, reposes in fancied security, and lost to the "signs of the times," that fears of atrophy may be justly entertained. So long as we have the same manly and vigorous class of writers, who act like physicians to the state, and point out the slightest indications of disease, I do not apprehend much danger to the constitution. "Prevention," however, "is better than cure." It is easy to destroy life, but the secret for restoring it yet remains to be discovered; and I would rather hear of invasions averted than of the most heroic repulsions the world has ever listened to. We have no right to make war at pleasure, but we are enjoined by every precept to prevent it if possible; and a chain of defences at all accessible points on our coast would render invasion impracticable.

Each State of the American Union supports itself, and is governed in its internal policy by its own community, and every citizen is entitled to a voice in nominating the legislators for his country. This tickles the humour of the "free and enlightened mob," who love to listen to their own "sweet voices," and who believe as much in the efficacy of their votes as they do in the potency of a glass of grog. *Vide* the life of "Colonel David Crocket," and go to the next electioneering contest in San Francisco.

Hitherto, what has gained for the Yankees pre-

eminent claims to the title of being a "go-ahead" race, is that the reins of government have been but lightly felt, each state exercising its own pleasure in saddling itself with expenses for improvements, &c.: and they have had a boundless field before them, with illimitable resources. But they have dipped their hands in blood, and their success in arms against the unskilled Mexicans, ignorant of modern tactics, has well nigh intoxicated them, and I have heard grandiloquent speeches, and seen in print from the Atlantic States the snug complacency with which they look forward at no very distant date to taking Great Britain under their protection. There is a proverb "that ill weeds grow apace," and a saying "that a too rapid growth is dangerous to the constitution." Is there no fear that some of the joints of the Union may prove ricketty. Will the men on the Pacific side of the Rocky Mountains for aye submit to have their commerce shackled by men on the Atlantic side? I don't believe they will; and the Eastern States may yet have to deplore the westward tide of immigration.

Englishmen on going abroad, accustomed as they have been to the gradual development of things at home, advancing step by step, and rarely venturing the next move till tolerably certain of its results, are extremely chary at entering into speculations beyond their means, and it *almost* requires a second generation to qualify this excess of moderation. Yankees, on the contrary, esteem themselves equal to the wealthiest in the country, and, though without a dollar, if they can find any one to trust them, will dash into specu-

lations to the full amount they can obtain credit for; and, if permitted to "go-ahead," will involve themselves in such labyrinthian confusion, that there is ultimately scarcely any possibility of unravelling the perplexed web. Individuals suffer, but the country improves, and nations, possessing an illimitable extent of rich productive territory, will sustain no vital harm from the schemes of such tearing projectors.

"All men are by nature *free* and independent and have certain inalienable rights, among which are those of enjoying and defending life and liberty, acquiring, possessing and protecting property, and procuring and obtaining safety and happiness."

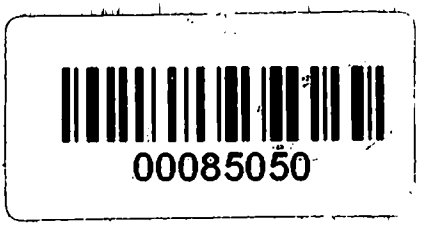
This being freely admitted and set forth, no man wishes to be inferior to his neighbour, and except in some of the older and more densely peopled, and in some of the *slave* states, I have heard that it is pretty much "all master and no man." In California this is most indubitably the case, and it is worthy a voyage thither, if only to see in the crowded "Hells" of "this great and growing country, over which the American eagle has spread its wing," what a sample of "free and enlightened citizens" really is.

On the first of next month many of my personal friends are homeward bound, and great is my desire again to visit the land of my birth; but other ties and feelings draw me another way, and there is one tiny pair of hands tugging at my heartstrings with irresistible force. My little one, I come! We dropped down the harbour, and, having escaped without much damage from the collision of two other vessels that drove against us, causing us some detention,

on *December* 23*rd*, we cleared the troublesome and expensive port of San Francisco, and at sun-down had a distinct view of the "Farallones rocks," which hazy weather prevented our seeing when we entered. Our observation only admitted of noting that they were bold projections; and (to be accurate) they lie by compass south-west and by west half west from the harbour's mouth. Once more in an "open sea," I trust, by the blessing of Providence, in the course of a few weeks to hold to my bosom the "flower and blossom" of my affections; and, although with sentiments in no way allied to with those that possessed the mutineers of the Bounty, I yet reiterate their cry, and exclaim, "Huzza for Otaheite!"

THE END.

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